

- (1) The Revolt was not an accident. It mirrored the popular will. It was necessary. It included the whole population with no one left out. In some way or another everybody participated. The Revolt was kept in the tradition of 1848. It started out as a national revolution ~~XX~~ <sup>and</sup> it became a fight defeated for freedom.
- (2) It seems the Revolt started on October 5 6, 1956. On this day, Rajk's rehabilitation funeral took place, an event forebodingly coinciding with the death of the 13 martyrs of Arad of 1849. The Revolt started on this day, because up to this time an imaginative polity could have avoided it. But after that day things ran their predetermined course. With Rajk's rehabilitation people did not rally to his support, for his history and activities were hated, but the fact that the executioners of the man turned around and buried their own crime, for all Hungary this was a moral outrage.
- (2 b) This depends on from what historical bird's eye view one looks at Hungarian developments. Of course, the Soviets lost their adored god, but with his death terror actually increased first. People disappeared without a trace if they made a sarcastic comment about the old leader. Opposition in those days took the form of minor sabotage, small fires, some accidents. Actually Stalin's terror <sup>event</sup> contributed to the Revolt from a long-range view. As an ~~event~~, his death was not important, but in its after-effects it was.
- (2 c) Nagy was put in power in a changed atmosphere with the intention of the Party to use his personal assets, his peasant <sup>-like</sup> looks, his quiet, relaxed manners, etc., but once they grew aware of the eventual results of his policy, and especially in the wake of the

Berlin riots, the button was pushed in Moscow and his dismissal was immediate.

- 2(d) This was a phase of the general relaxation. It had a practical objective, but it also had inevitably practical results. The meeting was not on the basis of equality, for the Soviet's Canossa walk did hurt Soviet prestige. While Hungary had no admiration for Yugoslavia, the fact that a small country could survive in spite of Soviet pressure impressed the Hungarians. This again had no direct result on the Revolt.
- (2 e) This had a decided effect both for Hungarian public opinion and Party policy. It was truly the last chance for the Soviet to prove their good intentions to the world, and now, in retrospect, we can see that it was only a tactical change. The Hungarians gave half a chance to the sincerity of this change. All were keenly interested whether Moscow does discard Stalinism entirely. I had read the New York Times story of the Party Congress and of the Khrushchev speech. This was kept officially secret, but Party members were told about it in secret meetings and all those interested could find out. In this regard it may be interesting to find out whether Stalin did spy for the tsarist police in his youth. If so, even his gravest sins could not be excused with being true to the Communist dogma. Once the people of Hungary realized that it was not sincere, the Congress had a negative effect and influenced the revolutionary trend in this manner, Although we can say that not even three days before the Revolution would one have expected it to occur.

- (2 f) Yes, it had its effect, but it had no direct result then. Now looking back, it fits into a pattern. The Communists played it down as a minor thing, but it was generally known that it resulted from the strongest public opinion pressure.
- (2 g) All XX welcomed it, even though he had quite a bit of popularity until 1949. He was a good speaker and understood people. In the beginning, the <sup>nationalization of</sup> large holdings, both factories and land, helped to improve the condition of the Hungarian people. But soon his speeches about Tito, the execution of Rajk ~~and generally his~~ <sup>oppressive policy raised</sup> ..... general hatred against him. His health ~~was~~ certainly had no <sup>valid</sup> ..... reason for his replacement. It is of interest to know that Kádár, who has by last year joined the Central Committee meetings again, has started spreading rumors of its proceedings. Apparently the meetings, held in Russian, were<sup>+</sup> quite explosive, for Kadar pounded the table and complained bitterly of the torture he underwent at the hands of Vladimir Farkas. Kádár apparently didn't care, for once he got out of jail he was entirely ruined physically and mentally. He had the courage of the man who had nothing else to lose. He saw to it that the rumors and deliberations from this committee get out to the people. With this he hoped to undermine Rákosi's power. With his ~~XXXXXXXX~~ criticism, of course, he ~~XXXXXXXX~~ was considered by some as "honest." But this was just the honesty of the man who didn't care. It was not a moral quality. By many he is credited for undermining Rákosi with this means. In his play for power, he apparently won, but whatever popularity or semblance of it he may have had, of course is now gone.

- (2 h) October 6, 1956.
- (2 i) The last chance for reform was lost with the Twentieth Party Congress. Within a few weeks people had no further expectation for a genuine change. Bitterness generally felt made it sure that something must ~~give~~ <sup>come</sup>. Yet to be told that an armed fighting was in the offing was <sup>even on</sup> unbelievable. Not ~~XXXX~~ October 20 could have one expected it.
- (3) Although the economic situation was very poor, the economic problems were never decisive. Everyone had a minimum standard of living and no one had actually starved.
- (3 c) All through 1956 and especially after Rajk's funeral, a spiritual national awakening developed, simultaneously with relaxed pressure from above, and people began to realize their possibilities. The relaxation from above and the increase of pressure from below met and reinforced each other. When the AVO started shooting first above the heads of the crowd, people in the crowd did not know whether anyone was hit. They picked up the cobblestones, used fire hoses against the AVO, and the Revolt was on.
- (4 a, b, c) It was a nationalistic revolt. First in favor of just communism, but actually from the beginning it was anti-Communist. Furthermore, the regime wasn't even Communist. Thus even the idealistic Communists rejected it. This is easily proved by the fact that the working class benefited the least from the regime. They were the most suppressed. It was a regime of opportunists and adventurers, not of Communists.
- (4 e) Several groups had different aims, but everyone was united to kick out the Russians from Hungary and get rid of communism. The several trends and views were united for the time being, and the central

fact was unity against all outside enemies. The speedy turn of events and ~~the~~ the necessity to assure survival permitted no final developments.

- (4 d) All aimed at the same idea, now expressed in fighting.
- (4 e) See above.
- (4 f) Absolute idealism *led them.*
- (4 g) Russki, go home! Every state's soldier should go to his own country. Murderous AVO. Recall Peter Kos from the UN. Neutrality for Hungary. And everything was permeated with the spirit of Petöfi and his "Talpra magyar." Hungary never had a successful liberal democratic revolution and people are still yearning for one.
- (4 h) *Excluding interference*  
from outside.
- (4 i) Yes.
- (4 j) The regime was not even communistic. The level of intelligence determined when every person became disillusioned. The ones who towed the line were kept under control with fear or by aim of a career. Actually, many idealistic Communists were very disappointed.
- (4 l) There is no question that the Hungarians would have won against the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. It was against the newly brought in troops that the Revolt succumbed. Hungary faced the usual problems of a democratic revolution and it would have created a state on the road of regular democratic political developments.
- (4 m) No.
- (4 n) *I don't know.*
- (4 o) There were some from all social groups. This was not political opposition, but they were scared. Respondent's aunt was very upset that her apartment was shot up because youngsters shot at Russians

from downstairs windows. In one's own apartment people scared away from attacking Russians in an unequal battle with tanks, unless the enterprise promised some success. Taking potshot at the Russians meant suicide. X The most tragic was that the Hungarian radio underplayed the importance of the Revolt while Radio Free Europe overplayed it. They both endangered ~~XXXXXXXX~~ ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Revolution and the lives of thousands. In the first days of the Revolution there was not enough stimulation from RFE. They should have been more determined then. In the second phase their encouragement to attack the thousands of fresh Soviet tanks meant suicide. In the first phase a full-~~scale~~ scale revolt would have wiped out the opposition more successfully. No one talked about it, but more AVOs should have been wiped out.

(5) Eyewitness.

(6) The first phase of the Revolt was spent by respondent in Székesfehérvár as a teacher in the local secondary school. He roused the children. They read the poems of Petőfi and they used classes to interpret events of the Revolution. He was asked one night to make a speech in English and German in the free radio Vörösmarty in the town, and he was picked up at night to read the <sup>revolutionary</sup> message into the radio. On the way they were fired on by Soviet tanks. When they got to the station, they were warned away quickly by secret messages. Soon the station was taken over by the ~~SIX~~ AVO. On one occasion a mass meeting was broken up by a Soviet tank who fired into the crowd, killing nine people, one of them a Russian.

It was Soviet policy to immediately pick up the bodies and call the fire trucks to wash away the blood. By the way, all people who were killed were found to be shot in the back of their heads. Therefore they must have been fleeing. On another occasion a tank fired into the entrance of the Hungarian Army officers' quarters. There they killed a crippled watchman. The AVO disappeared in disguise. People limited themselves to cutting out the red stars from the flags and there were no serious fights, AVO hangings, or mass murders. The AVO officers were captured and then put in jail, under pleasant conditions. They were playing chess and cards. It is a pity that the AVO was treated so humanely. Their survival has become a major problem of today. Much of the local town was ~~demoralized~~ demoralized by lack of news coverage. The Budapest radio was still in Communist hands and one had very little idea of what was happening.

- (7 a) It was the fight of the population against the Russians. A kind of a guerilla warfare.
- (7 b) No.
- (7 c) No.
- (7 d) I saw Soviet Army train, loaded with tanks and troops, taken into Budapest.
- (8) Does not apply.
- (9) Not applicable.
- (10 a) Saw newspapers which were actually handbills. Much news was disseminated by posters. In Buda he saw a boy carried away by Russians for putting on posters. These papers had one or two pages, they covered basic news items.
- (10 b) Does not know.

- (10 c) Of the destruction of the Stalin statue and the fighting in front of the Parliament. ~~SOMEONE~~ A girl who was a good friend was shot in the stomach in front of the Parliament. Also heard much about the fight at the Radio station.
- (10 d) In the faculty room in Székesfehérvár the RFE radio station was on all day, blaring loud. Unfortunately it fooled many people and misled them. We also heard the Kossuth Radio, which was only free for a few days. This was Budapest.
- (10 e) None.
- (10 f) Respondent always had a poor opinion of Radio Free Europe, but how damaging it was became now obvious. Also it was irresponsible. One had simply no reliable news from either East or from the West, nor did any individuals.
- (10 g) One heard of developments in Pécs from free radio stations, describing the fightings in the uranium mines.
- (11 a) *The railroad*..... station in front of the Party headquarters in Székesfehérvár was <sup>occupied</sup> ~~expressed~~ by the AVO. The county party secretary by the name of [REDACTED] apparently escaped to the West, leaving his family and children behind. He is supposedly somewhere in France. He was a bloodthirsty man and an opportunist. The Party headquarters was just about ready to be taken over by the population, but the AVOs still stood in front protecting it. The tension was very great. But suddenly young children came forward, putting little tricolor flags <sup>Covering</sup> on the colors (←) of the AVO. This act has released the tension. The people entered the building, went



through all the kader cards. Later the local Communists burnt all the kader cards with the avowed intention to bury the past, but actually to protect themselves, since most information on the cards noted the informer.

- (11 b) There were no difficulties. Many of the police were for the Revolution.
- (11 c) See above.
- (11 d) Already before the Revolution the Irodalmi Ujsag (Literary Journal) attacked Eric Molnár, the Minister of Justice, for changes badly needed. Some of these were attempted during the Revolt.
- (11 e) They were not compromised as a whole, though some, especially officers, put up with the regime for an easy life.
- (11 f) I don't know much about it. Considered it unimportant.
- (11 g) Certain hated members of the local councils were kicked out. They were scared ~~shaky~~ shaky and they disappeared.
- (11 h) The ministries kept mass meetings and forced the resignation of disliked leaders. This was the fate of Aladár Toth, who was the manager of the Budapest Opera House and a most hated person.
- (11 i) Mindszenty was made a martyr, but unfortunately aptitudes and his past actions were not in relation with his reputation. Respondent heard his speech over the radio. It was poor, and he was more and more disliked.
- (11 j) The DISZ and the other mass organizations simply collapsed. So did the Party.
- (11 k) The radio stations, technical organizations, but there was actually no use for any administrative organizations once the Revolt was

started. Only fighting was decisive. The Petöfi Club, for instance, was only important before the Revolt was started, not during the Revolt.

~~XXXXXXXX~~

- (11 m) The democratic elements now represented in the plants, but the plants were not organized and anarchy prevailed.
- (11 n) A coalition government of democratic parties. They would possibly have permitted a lone Communist in Parliament. They would have opposed a strong Communist Party.
- (12 <sup>5</sup> a) Yes, one could see and hear them both. They made it their tactical policy to rattle down the streets at all times of day and night with full speed and with as much noise as they could make. This apparently was to scare the population. ~~XXXXXXXX~~
- (12 b) Yes. Many in the second phase of the attack on Hungary apparently didn't realize the scope of their own activities. They thought that they were just wiping out some local disturbances. They were very afraid of people, always living separately from them. They were apparently poorly fed.
- (12 d) They were of course strongly protected by armed forces. The people were afraid and hated the city governor of Budapest, a man called Grebenitz. He apparently made a report that all those under 18 years of age were returned from their deportation. This, in face of Soviet denials of any deportations having taken place. He was not an unfriendly person, but of course as a result he was immediately dismissed and it was a big stink.

- (12 f) Yes.
- (12 g) Before the 23rd they were not openly in control. During the Revolt their position reminded one of the post-conquest days of Budapest in 1945, and after the Revolt they again were represented by Kádár.
- (12 h) It did not collapse. It was stronger than ever. Only due to the general hatred the Revolt succeeded temporarily. Yet afterwards, with the aid of their arms, they re-established the Communist regime. There was some relaxation from above before, for they did permit the Petöfi Club.
- (13) On December 4. By then it was obvious that the Revolt had failed and that the West won't help Hungary.
- (13 a) It was clear to everyone that a strong reaction was inevitably coming. To save the rest of one's life and to give meaning to the greatest events in respondent's life so far, he couldn't go back to teach school again, especially not to teach Russian. It was against his principles. Also, for some of his activities he was probably in danger. Finally, he had the opportunity to go west with a cousin who was going out and knew the way and had a guide.
- (13 b) Yes, I told my landlady at Székesfehérvár and also a dear old teacher on my faculty. I also taught school for one day before I finally left. I only taught English. Russian was then abolished.
- (13 c) We had a guide hired.

- (13 d) We had many aunts, friends, and everyone helping us once we crossed the border.
- (13 e) There was no other alternative. Our life there was finished. Under the very best of conditions, respondent could have hoped to teach Russian and this was dreaded.
- (?) Yes.
- (14 a) Decidedly. First, to wake up the West. To show the Russian's real face. Second, the Revolt disillusioned the colonial states which expected their solution <sup>of their problems by</sup> ~~from~~ the Soviet Union. Thirdly, it was good that Hungary became disillusioned with the West. There was much sympathy, but there was no real determination. For years the Hungarians <sup>have</sup> ~~had~~ heard that "if anything happened, you can count on us." This is not true, there was no help, and the United Nations proved useless. It is good to be realistic, even if it meant discrediting old cherished values. Fourthly, it was beneficial for the USSR. It was a good lesson for them to face the facts of their government. Fifth, the refugees now returning to Hungary were cheated twice. First they were cheated when they had to flee their own country, and second when nobody accepted them in. They had to go back to that hell.
- (14 b) It couldn't have succeeded. Of course, if no additional Soviet forces would have been introduced, yes. But logically and politically this was impossible. The Soviets would have never given up their position in Eastern Europe. They will only do so as the result of World War III, not on emotional grounds.

- (14 c) Nothing differently, said respondent after some hesitation. Especially not, said respondent, if October 23 would again be followed by a November 4.
- (14 d) Hungary became the site of the strongest oppression. Thus there was the strongest reaction. The country was also best suited emotionally for revolt. There was the strongest excess of Stalinism and general conditions were worse in Hungary than elsewhere.
- (14 e) He is not a very talented person. Historically, he was picked up by the wave of fate. He was more liked than Rákoss, but he was not a leader. Similarly, Anna Kéthly was pushed up on the wave of history, but actually all so-called leaders of this Revolt were unworthy of the average participants' accomplishments. All one can say of Nagy is that he was more honest than Rákosi.
- (14 f) Maléter, of course, was a talented and daring officer. He was apparently quite liberal and democratic for a long time. Tildy is a broken old man, who got away with much in the past.
- (14 g) The people of Hungary.
- (14 h) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ One: students in the universities and writers. Two: the rest of the student body, secondary school students. Three: the rest of the intellectuals. Four and five together: workers, soldiers, officials. Lastly: the peasants. But one should note that for instance the heroism of children was not part of the conscious revolt of the nation. It was a blind and heroic daring.
- (14 i,j) Respondent was happily disappointed in both. He thought them both

too cynical and insolent and uninterested to really care.

(14 k) It was a center of free speech. Their newspaper became the most popular newspaper in all Hungarian history.

(14 l) These were the least active; although they were happy to welcome the Revolution and glad to see the end of the regime, they remained passive. They were not very useful in the Revolt, though in tight spots they frequently contributed food freely. They were very helpful and selfless. Like them, the bakers baked day and night to keep the population fed.

## S U P P L E M E N T

Respondent volunteered the following additional statements:

/3a & b/

There were no conscious organizers of the revolution. Nevertheless, it was of great importance that intellectuals, especially the writers became more and more free in their criticisms against Communist politicians and attacked the ÁVH very strongly. Since the summer of 1956, this was <sup>going on</sup> ~~revealed~~ Communist in the Petőfi Circle. Discussions there reviewed party politics in a highly critical way and stressed the big faults committed in matters of education. Up to this time Irodalmi Ujság /Literary Journal/ was a weekly that interested ~~only~~ a rather exclusive literary circle. From the summer 1956 through the first days of the revolution it <sup>did not</sup> ~~ceased to~~ deal only with literary politics and ~~to~~ publish only literary essays and hardly understandable verses as it <sup>by</sup> ~~mainly~~ did before. More and more articles were published in it dealing with politics in general, and attacking Communist politicians and especially the ÁVH. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This made it so popular that at 2 P.M. when the copies used to arrive to the news vendors, masses waited for it at the news-stands. Black market prices were paid for a copy by those who could not get it otherwise. When a copy reached my working place, the "József Attila Gimnázium" /high school/ at Székesfehérvár, more than often three teachers started to read it immediately. Well known Communist writers as Tamás Aczél and Tibor Déry used the most daring voice in their articles published in

## /SUPPLEMENT continued 9/

Irodalmi Ujság.

Both the youth in Budapest and in Székesfehérvár expressed their sympathy for Irodalmi Ujság enthusiastically in public demonstrations since October 23, 1956.

/6/

On October 23, 1956, I was the only teacher ~~in~~ participating in Székesfehérvár in a silent demonstration of hundreds of high school students, both girls and boys, <sup>as well as</sup> students of industrial schools and young workers.

On October 25, 1956, I was among students, industrial workers and peasants who demonstrated before the ÁVH headquarters in the city. The demonstrators dissolved when a Russian tank was coming. Still, the firing tank killed 7 of the demonstrators.

On October 26, I ~~was~~ told my pupils in the school that under the influence of the previous day's events I am not going to hold the Russian class. We read verses of Petőfi instead.

No other firing occurred in Székesfehérvár up to November 4.

Armed young people slept in the student hostel in Székesfehérvár in addition to local youth <sup>there were</sup> also members of the student liaison staff who arrived from Budapest. Two youth in rotation, most of them in the years of 15, stood armed and wearing hand grenades permanently at the gate.

On November 3, I left Székesfehérvár for Budapest in a military truck carrying salt. The driver was a soldier, and at his



## /SUPPLEMENT continued:/

side a soldier wearing a submachine gun was sitting.

On December 3rd, I returned to Székesfehérvár. On December 4, I held an English class; on the same day my mother joined me in the city and I returned with her to Budapest, wherefrom we left on train ~~to~~ <sup>for</sup> the Austro-Hungarian border on December 5th. Events I could observe both in Székesfehérvár and Budapest convinced me of the fact that the simple Hungarian soldiers were ready to join the revolution. Most of the officers, however, were traitors to the revolutionary cause in essence, thus paralyzing the pro-revolutionary mood of the rank and file.

One day, late in October, masses demonstrated in front of the city hall at Székesfehérvár up to the night hours <sup>expressing sympathy</sup> for the Hungarian army as the symbol of national independence. The commander of the army corps <sup>residing in the city</sup> ordered a military detachment consisting mainly of officers to carry out a torchlight procession among the masses. People cheered them enthusiastically. But this was only ~~good~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~mislead~~ <sup>mislead</sup> the population. When the Russians returned in November, the officers took an open stand against the revolution.

On December 3rd and 4th when I was back in Székesfehérvár, I could observe the shrapnel marks above the gates of both the "House of the army officers" /Tiszti Ház/ and a military barracks in Dózsa György tér /square/. In addition to a crippled watchman of the Tiszti Ház, the Russians killed there

also a Communist political instructor of the army, named Halász. The officers and their families living in the Tiszti Ház were forced by the Russians to go out to the street; in nightshirts and to walk around with elevated arms <sup>for about 30 minutes;</sup>. It was ordered because somebody fired at a Russian soldier in a tank from the Tiszti Ház. <sup>All</sup> ~~but~~ this was related me by acquaintances who followed the events by themselves *while I stayed in Budapest.*

## SUPPLEMENT

/2e/

As far as I can remember, there were some 600 students in the "József Attila gimnázium" <sup>in the 1955-1956 school year</sup>. There were four parallel classes in each grade; in the second grade probably even five of them, while there were only three parallel classes of third grade. Starting with the school-year of 1956-1957, also primary school classes were organized in the building of the high school. This caused much trouble. Some of the classes were to be held at afternoon both for primary and secondary school students because teaching rooms were not available otherwise. The number of students rised to 900 by this measure. <sup>There</sup> ~~It~~ was much discontent among the teachers of the high school on account of this new order. They did not like to be busy at afternoon and their well established spirit was troubled by the arrival of teachers of primary school who hardly were known up to this time by these of the high school. The common room of teachers became overcrowded, closets were to be made available for the new teachers. I had to content myself with a drawer while giving my closet to a teacher of primary school. There was a headmaster in chief ~~of~~ in charge of both the primary and the secondary school, and /assistant/ headmasters, one for the high school and ~~was~~ one for the primary school. Both contested the other for privileges for the respective school, as <sup>for</sup> ~~to~~ the best use of class rooms.

- /1a/ Teacher in a high school.
- /1b/ He died in 1944. He was a middleman in the timber trade.
- /2a/ In the "József Attila gimnázium" /high school named for the late Hungarian poet Attila József/ in Székesfehérvár, Hungary.
- /2b/ I taught English and Russian.
- /2c/ "Gimnáziumi tanár" /teacher <sup>in</sup> a high school/.
- /2d/ From September 1955 to <sup>early in</sup> November 1956.
- /2e/ Before Communist rule the school was maintained by the /Roman Catholic/ Cistercian order. It ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> a famous one. Students were sent there from far-away parts of the country. The well-known Hungarian poet of the 19th century, Mihály Vörösmarty, had been a student. Although it is a state school now, it is still generally mentioned both by parents and pupils as the "Ciszter" /the school of Cistercians. There are for year-classes in the school. The average age of students is from 15 to 18. There were 20 to 30 students in each class.
- /2f/ The present school building was constructed in 1936. It is a three story building <sup>in Jókai utca /street/</sup>; one of the nicest looking and best equipped ones in Hungary. There is a primordial mummy in the biological collection of the school. It was in the possession of the Cistercian order already. There were classes both for boys and girls set apart from each other. Yet, in the 1956-1957th school-year there exists <sup>ad</sup> only the graduating class for girls, and no more girl-classes are supposed to be organized after finishing the 1956-1957th school-year. There is also a high school exclusively for girls in Székesfehérvár. The old school

building, opposite ~~to~~ to the new one, is used now as a students' hostel. Once it was built for a cloister with thick walls making it cold. Separated parts are set apart in it for boys and for girls. In the latter girl-students of the local girls' high school have been accommodated, too. It is this part of the building where the famous Hungarian poet: Vörösmarty studied more than a century ago.

/3/ I wanted to become a translator for literature. I studied various languages for this reason. Yet there were too many translators of this type in Hungary and it was told that the interest of people's economy <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ that I be a high school teacher. Tens of people were forced to follow such incentives against their own will. Nevertheless, I took a liking to the teacher's profession, and I enjoyed it. I liked my pupils very much, although I never considered my teacher's job as a permanent one. Immediate contacts with young boys <sup>and</sup> ~~as~~ their formation rather <sup>than</sup> teaching in the proper sense of the word attracted me. I considered subject matters to be taught by me <sup>as an</sup> opportunity to such contacts with youth in order to form them.

/4a & b/

Not applicable.

/4c & d/

1004 forints monthly.

/4e/

Take home pay was 790 forints monthly, paid in two <sup>equal</sup> parts fortnightly; the deductions were: 4 % for peace loan subscription, 3 % for tax to be paid by childless persons, and the rest for regular income tax and social security benefits.

/4f/

I did not get any.

/4g/

I was paid ~~ese~~ 8 forints per hour for teaching the English class. Deductions for income tax and social security benefits were made from it, too. English was an optional subject taught at afternoon. Classes could be formed only if there were at least 10 applicants. I had 11 or 12 students in the English class. It was two hours a week.

Another additional income of mine was for translation of invoices of artisans who worked for the Russians. The latter paid well supposed the artisan traced in detail the work having been done. I was paid 60 to 70 forints for two hours work when translating such accounts to Russian. ~~This was a completely irregular work.~~ It happened that I ~~did~~ made two translations of this kind in a week and later not even one for months.

/4h/

It was better than the average when compared with wages and salaries of people at large. They ~~averaged~~ <sup>made</sup> 700, 800 or 900 forints monthly. Teacher's profession was considered a honored and appreciated one, and was paid according to this. However, many <sup>other</sup> people found illegal ways for earnings, as for example weighing goods in state stores fraudulently or tapping the stores. As to regular additional incomes, doctors working with the social security service had ~~in~~ addition <sup>of</sup> private patients paying well; engineers prepared technical drawings in addition to their regular job. Cabinet ministers and academicians got very high salaries.

/4i/

Other teachers used to make translations, too, or else they

gave private lessons to students. A high school teacher's initial salary was supposed to be raised by 100 forints monthly after ~~so~~ <sup>Two</sup> calendar years. An additional raise was forthcoming after other three years in turn, and it was ~~to be followed~~ <sup>increased</sup> similarly in the later years. One was able to care for his livelihood from his basic teacher's salary without additional income after 25 or 30 years of service. Such people earned 1800 or 1900 forints monthly.

/5a/

The compulsory teaching time was 22 hours per week. But in schools where the ~~existing~~ teaching-staff was small, 26 or more hours were to be taught per week. Eventually I worked ~~for~~ 30 or 32 hours <sup>per week</sup>: 22 hours <sup>teaching</sup> the regular /compulsory/ subject matters, 4 hours <sup>in</sup> ~~for~~ English classes, 3 hours ~~for~~ supervising the study room /tanulószoba/ where students had to prepare themselves for the classes, and 1 or more hours supplying for another teacher. Everyone of the teaching-staff had to stay in the common teachers' room for two hours per week in order to take over the class of a colleague if needed. He was paid for the supplied hour if he effectively held the class, but not paid if he was present only to supervise the class without actual teaching. Correction of class-compositions and checking home-works of students, as well as preparation for teaching was to be done without additional payment.

/5b/

Monday through Saturday. Every day I had to work <sup>for</sup> 3 or 4 hours in classes between 8 AM and 2 PM, and for 1, 2 or exceptionally 3 hours between 3 and 6 PM in the study room, *or else teaching English.*

- /5c/ For more than 22 hours per week I was paid ~~according to my statement under point /5a/~~ 8 forints per hour.
- /5d/ Yes: New Years Day, April 4th, May 1st, August 20th, November 7th. On March 15th /memorial day of the Hungarian revolutionary demonstration in 1848/ there was regular teaching in the classes up to noon, and then there was a celebration. There were heavy difficulties <sup>during the school year</sup> with the fuel-supply. Attempts were made to economize first by fusing classes temporarily, but eventually at least 3 weeks forced vacation became unavoidable including Christmas time for this reason. There were 2 or 3 days free at Easter time and <sup>we had</sup> summer vacation for about 2 and half months starting with the middle of June. However, there was a teachers' conference in summer, and I also had to work by stock-taking in the school before the 1956-1957 school-year started. The basic salary was paid for they days of vacation and at the time when I did not work more than 22 teaching hours.
- /5e/ I did not have another job.
- /5f/ Those arriving in the last moment before ~~their~~ teaching time were chided for it. All of us wanted to be at school in time in order not to cause trouble to others.
- /5g/ It was told that everybody has to enter the school building ~~at~~ 10 minutes before 8 AM. There was a preliminary bell at 5 before 8 AM. At this time all teachers had to be in the common teachers' room.
- /5h/ There was no need of it. All of the teachers were disciplined people and were serious in doing their work. The assistant



headmaster of the school always agreed to an absence when adequate reason was given. He was in charge of such problems.

/51 to 1/

Not applicable.

/6a/

The school was outstanding both in equipment and spirit.

/6b/

The medical officer of the school did a good work. There was a nice-looking drill hall that was adequate in every respect.

/6c/

The ~~XXXXXX~~ biological collection was well equipped for object teaching including a modern film-projector.

/6d/

As to ~~the~~ students <sup>in SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR</sup> I could make comparison with ~~students~~ <sup>those</sup> in Budapest schools. It was decided after two years of university studied who can join the curriculum of a translator. There were 22 <sup>of them</sup> in our year class. The others had to prepare of becoming teachers. As I was among the latter, I had to be a teacher trainee in the third year of my university studies with the "Szilágyi Erzsébet leánygimnázium" /high school of girls named for Erzsébet Szilágyi, mother of King Matthias of Hungary in the 15th century/, and in the fourth year of my university studies with the "Apácai Csere János gyakorló gimnázium" /normal high school named for János Apácai Csere, Hungarian scholar of the 16th century/. Both schools were in Budapest. By ~~com-~~ <sup>re-</sup> ~~parison~~ <sup>ference to</sup> my students there I would tell that the spiritual level of Budapest students was higher as that of those in Székesfehérvár. On the other side the latter were more disciplined and showed more deference. There were no outstanding talents among them, but they were industrious in their studies. This I could experience while teaching in Székesfehérvár in the 1st and 2nd year classes, or pupils in the average age of

15 and 16. Of course, Monday was a "sleepy day" and the boys were less ready to learn at spring time.

/6e/

Most of the graduated university students of my year-class had to take a teacher's job in the countryside. Refusing to accept this would have meant to be unemployed for a half year, and to do some low grade work even later, rather than teaching. I would have liked to stay in Budapest because my mother had a job there and I wished to live with her. But I did not have such an opportunity for the above reasons. First I was told to take a high school teacher's job in Csorna, a small town far away from Budapest. At least I could manage to go to Székesfehérvár which was a bigger city and closer to Budapest. Thus it was easier to me to spend at least the weekends with my mother. In Székesfehérvár I was a sub-tenant. My home was 5 minutes walk from the school.

/7e/

There were some 50 teachers in the school. Most of them were in the age of 30 to 35, some were in the twenties, one 60 and another 51 years old. A few of them were former teachers in elementary schools. They became high-school teachers after passing a supplementary examination. The ~~great~~<sup>majority</sup> majority, however, was university graduate. Some of them ~~formerly~~<sup>once</sup> were members of the Cistercian order. They wore civilian clothes but the whole population of the city knew about them that they were former priests. They possessed an outstanding expert knowledge and were highly respected by everybody.

Most of the teachers had economic difficulties in their lives.

All of them were clothed well. But the elderly teacher of biology once borrowed 10 forints from me for a few days because he was short to buy things for the daily life. He had <sup>two</sup> daughters. Almost all of the teachers did some additional work for earning. For instance, the physical instructor worked as a trainer with sports associations and the MHK /Ready for Work and Defence/ movement. The headmaster and the deputy headmaster got some overtime payment for their activities additional to teaching.

/7b/

We had confidence to each other and were not anxious to talk freely in a "reactionary" way even at teachers' meetings. Of course, there were one or two in the staff who adhered to the regime. We avoided to be too outspoken in their presence, though it was not likely that even they would "break our neck". There was countrywide relaxation in this respect since as early as the fall of 1955 already. On the whole there was a liberal, progressive spirit in the teacher's staff <sup>of</sup> our school; my colleagues were honest Hungarian people of good feelings. The headmaster, [REDACTED] did not share this spirit. He was an intimate of the Communist Party secretary of Fejér County where Székesfehérvár is located, and faithfully represented the state and the party dictatorship in our school. The whole county disliked him. His activities were revealed in some cases by dismissals and transferring of students to other schools. He is now in the age of 37. Is a very well educated

/7b continued/

and cultured man, well trained in mathematics, though not a good teacher. It was known about him that his mother lives in Rio de Janeiro under very good conditions, and that he has <sup>other</sup> rich relatives in western countries. He himself staid in England once for a while.

He ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> a very good organizer and a man who did things on a large scale. He represented the interests of his staff in ~~a~~ some degree but was hated for his Bolshevik manners. At the time of the revolution he was ~~in~~ <sup>on</sup> the Kékes <sup>- Crest</sup> in the Mátra Mountains for reason of sickness. Had he been in Székesfehérvár, he hardly would have had a narrow escape. Nevertheless, his wife and children were there and were not harmed.

When I told him during the 1955-1956 school year that I want to be transferred to Budapest, he opposed me strongly. <sup>When</sup> ~~Re-~~ referring to the fact that my mother has to stay in Budapest, and explaining that I wish to join ~~him~~ her, my headmaster answered that it is in the interest of public <sup>education</sup> ~~instruction~~ that I remain in Székesfehérvár. He suggested that my mother has to come here, and told ~~me~~ ~~me~~ ~~me~~ ~~me~~ ~~me~~ of being sure that I will give in eventually.

By the end of the school year I still handed him my request of being transferred to Budapest. He immediately answered that he will not report on it favorably, and that the County Council will not support it either. Before this already, I found contacts to the Minister of Education through one of his nieces.

/7b continued/

As a result I filed a request for transfer directly in the ministry. When I was asked by the secretary of the minister why did I not file my request with the headmaster of the school I referred to my previous talk with him. The secretary probably misunderstood me. This was made likely by the fact that soon afterwards the headmaster got a fulminating letter of the minister in which the former /János Rác/ was ~~rebuked~~ <sup>rebuked</sup> for not taking over my request and instructed to do so. All this I found out from the mouth of János Rác at a teachers' conference where he wanted me to explain why <sup>he</sup> got such a letter and what ways did I use? I made it clear in my answer that I only referred to the fact when talking with the minister's secretary that he /János Rác/ refused to be ready to support my transfer, and added that the County Council will not support it either. Anyway, he blamed me for acting over his head and complained of being reprimanded unjustly. He ~~maintained~~ <sup>explained</sup> that after all this his reputation demands not to agree with my request for transfer. The result was that Tibor Erdei-Gruz, the Minister of Education, went back on his previous promise to order my transfer and I had to remain in Székesfehérvár for the next school<sup>year</sup> up to my escape.

This was the only real controversy I had with the headmaster of the school. Otherwise we fared fairly well with each other. His behavior betrayed that he stuck to me because he considered it as a honor to have a teacher in my person who can

/7b continued/ teach English in his school. He, however, inclined to be sarcastic with other teachers and to make them ridiculous. One of them was scolded by him for the former's habit to attend church services, and the other because a girl student became the latter's fiancée.

I never could find it out whether he was a convinced Communist using dirty methods to be successful, or a pushing fellow to use Communist facade to promote his personal ambitions. He was able to be very friendly, but when he became enraged he terrorized the teachers' conference.

By the end of the school-year of 1955-1956 he had his own trouble. He could not render account of 20,000 forints in the school's budget. May be that this was the reason only of the fact that he was a man with whom details are no consideration. He probably only used budget items for other purposes than ordered and omitted to prepare ~~the~~ requested accounts. Anyway, his doings were aired during the summer of 1956 in Fejérmegyei Néplap, a paper in Székesfehérvár, and disciplinary procedure was initiated against him by the educational council of Fejér County. He was in a hospital in Székesfehérvár for a time during the summer. After leaving the hospital he once came to the common teachers' room and had a talk with some of his colleagues. Early in October 1956, he left Székesfehérvár for the Kékes Crest in the Mátra Mountains.

Before this already he renounced as the headmaster of the

"József Attila gimnázium" and became just a teacher of mathematics in the girls' high school at Székesfehérvár. Previous to this the teachers' staff of our school voted about the question whether he should keep his headmaster's job. Only a few votes were given in favor of him. He probably found it out only then how much he was hated by his colleagues.

/7c/ It happened that I called on some of my colleagues. We used to play chess.

/7d/ Answered in the first paragraph of point /7b/.

/7e/ I would not tell so. I always felt that I became a high school teacher only by chance. Problems of forming young boys brought us together, however.

/7f/ It happened that I travelled to Budapest with one or another of my colleagues and spent a time with him in Budapest. Also otherwise I had friendly contacts with virtually all of my colleagues.

/7g/ Yes. If we started to talk about whether bread was available, the next sentence was about politics already.

/7h/ The Communist Party secretary of the teachers' staff was Tamás Várnai, 28, a teacher of history. In general he was a man of good will; not very talented. He voiced Communist ideas at meetings or doing other work in connection with ~~the~~ <sup>his</sup> party activities. It appeared to us that he did his <sup>party</sup> secretary's work due to cowardice, rather than for reasons of honest conviction. He figured as a mouth-piece and puppet of the headmaster. No-

body took him seriously but rather ridiculed him when he occasionally held a speech.

Only one quarter or even less of the teachers were Communist Party members, but practically it was only the headmaster who could be considered as <sup>a real Communist</sup> ~~such~~. This was in spite of the fact that Communists did their best to organize pedagogues in the party. Sometimes there were party meetings for party members in the teachers' staff.

/7i/ No.

/7j/ It was but a formality. Nobody wore the badge of the Communist Party and this was <sup>not</sup> to be seen on teachers' photographs in the school taken ~~earlier~~ <sup>since</sup> the school year of 1954-1955.

/7k/ It hardly anything had to do with the protection of interests of its members. Its task was to popularize <sup>and carry out</sup> Communist Party politics. As everywhere since the Communist rule, this was the same in the school, too. The attitude of the trade union members reflected this fact.

/7l/ Use was made of it if opportunities were given for recreation facilities or grants. In general they were given to others than those who really needed them.

/7m/ As far as I knew it was a step by step development in the direction pointed above /under point 7k/.

/7n/ No.

/7o/ There was not such a thing in the school.

/7p/ Yes. It depended how far he was needed. Communists had to



accept him if he could not be replaced. As an instance in other walks of life I refer to the case of Dr. [REDACTED], a well known surgeon in Budapest. It was well known about him that he attended church service every day and that the crucifix hang in the operating theater when he did his professional work. He always could make as much money he wanted. It was told that he operated even on Mátyás Rákosi while the crucifix hang in the operation theater.

[REDACTED], the father of one of my friends, was a lecturer of the Technical University at Budapest. He detested Communism and was free to tell it so. But as he was an outstanding engineer, he once was even sent to Cairo to held lectures. He published a very fine book on rag-paper /merített papír/ with nice illustrations, indicating his quality of university lecturer in the book.

/7c/

See point /7d/.

/7r/

Everybody was dread of ~~the~~ "Comrade Kékes", the cadre official of the Lóránt Eötvös University at Budapest. Once he was a shoemaker. He was responsible for throwing out students from the university in their second, third or fourth year-classes according to findings in their cadre files.

/7s/

The situation became worse in 1948 and the subsequent years, I remember an article of Mátyás Rákosi published in a Communist paper in 1949. He boasted of <sup>having</sup> <sup>ed</sup> ~~establishing~~ the proletarian dictatorship by clever policy and by having grasped every

' post by tactical means. As late as in 1946 expert knowledge was still of virtually general importance. Communists were <sup>leading</sup> ~~lined~~ in rubble clearance /romeltakarítás/ and use was made of every available expert no matter of party allegiance. On the other side, not even the first premiership of Imre Nagy brought a real change in Communist domination. People were rehabilitated but in a restricted number.

/76/

It was told that [REDACTED], our school's headmaster, worked for the ÁVH. I never could check whether it was so. There was no need of a professional informer. The headmaster knew everybody in his staff and could give every requested information. The cadre files followed everybody through all walks of life. I am sure there was one about me as early as I was a high school student. It was sent to the university and later to the "József Attila gimnázium" in Székesfehérvár. There only the headmaster had access to the cadre files.

During the revolution many cadre files got in the hands of the respective people. One of my uncles had a less important job under the Communists with the Ministry for Fuel and Power /Bánya- és Energiaügyi Minisztérium/. As an expert in lumber and firewood he used to be a checker in the countryside. The cadre files referring on him got in his hands. They were marked "confidential". A photograph of his was in the folder, as well as documentary data on his official work and reports of people to whom he has had confidence. Among others, there

was a report ~~in it~~ of the janitor in the house where he lived. Some of my colleagues in Székesfehérvár could get ~~in the possession of~~ their ~~respective~~ cadre files, too. After October 23rd, Communists announced in the city that the memory of the past was to be effaced. I saw when cadre files ~~luxuriously~~ were taken out to the street, poured down by gasoline and burned. For a very short time there were to parallel powers in Hungary during and after the revolution. One of them was the government, the other the workers' councils. They were formed by workers in factories, and more or less by students, too. As late as in November and December 1956, János Kádár felt compelled to discuss matters with them. Thus it was proved that they possessed a real power.

/7u/

It was a well-meant effort to express the mood and the will of masses.

/7v/

I refer to my statements under points /3 & 6e/. The general attitude of the regime was to train specialists 99 % in the interests of the government, and only 1 % ~~by~~ taking in consideration the wishes of the interested person. Only hard physical work if any was available for those not following the assignments given to them. This refers both to the occupation or the work to be performed, and to the place of residence assigned for. Would I have taken a job <sup>by</sup> my own choice, the employer would have been punished for it when in opposition to the given assignment, and social security benefits would not have been available for me.

/8a/

/8b/

~~Literary~~ Translator of literary and poetic works.

/8c/

I cherished interest both for literature and languages. I showed some of my translations to Lőrinc Szabó, outstanding Hungarian poet and translator, while I was a university student. He found them very good.

/8d/

Family tradition may have an importance in some cases, as for instance when a physician wants that his son follows the same profession. Status, prestige and material rewards are often of importance alike. Social utility, that is to work for other people in an unselfish way is seldom sought for sincerely. ~~Such~~ *Exceptions are* ~~a people must be an~~ idealists in a very high degree. Both convenience and seeking to avoid responsibility do have an importance, but the latter does not mean going so far to become a street sweeper rather than to do some more intelligent work. On the other side, longing for responsibility seldom has a real importance. As to other reasons, I would place personal ~~interest~~ *likings* above the goals mentioned. In other words, I think it is a highly important career goal to take pleasure in the work to be accomplished. Accordingly, satisfaction of conscious or subconscious desires and taking in consideration ~~discovered~~ talents and passions play <sup>an</sup> an important role. It is also likely that some people want to overcome complexes by taking a job. For example, many ÁVH men wanted to satisfy their sadism, sexual or other perversities rather than to participate in building socialism.

/8e/

Circumstance I referred to already caused me to become a teacher in a high school rather than translator of literary and poetical works.

/8f/

I considered it hopeless. The basic features of the prevailing system and situation would have commended complete subservience I felt incapable to accept.

/8g &amp; h/

No. People are very different in this respect. People like Mátyás Rákosi or Battista are obsessed with the idea of power, but many other people prefer material success or happiness in family life.

/8i/

travels, self-development, an interesting way of life, amusements but not in a frivolous sense.

/8j/

I longed <sup>mainly</sup> ~~especially~~ for such things in Hungary. This was and remains more important to me than easing of material problems.

/8k/

I would not have been happy should he have wanted to be a teacher, but would not have sought to stop him should he have felt talent and temper for it.

/9a/

My father died in 1944 as a deportee in Buchenwald. My mother ~~worked~~ was employed as a typist and stenographer before and in the early years of her marriage; later she helped my father in office work. After the death of my father she again ~~had~~ been employed as a typist and stenographer. She is in the age of 60 but could not stop working in Hungary up to our escape. It was needed for living even recently.

/9b/

My mother had to become breadwinner of the family. Our life became much harder.

/9c/

Money was spent for my education in the high school and in the university. I bought the poems of Sándor Petőfi and János Arany in fine publication printed on India-paper, as well as dictionaries. Time and again we got used clothing from my mother's brother from America. He sent me also few new ones after the war. Thus we did not need to buy much clothing articles. My mother sent me several times for 2 or 3 weeks vacation to the tourist hostel at Dobogó-ő, or to other not too expensive places. It happened also that I got this kind of accomodation through SZTK /Szakszervezeti Társadalombiztosítási Központ + Trades Union Social Insurance Center/. All other money was spent for daily necessities. We could not afford to buy a radio or have our home painted although there should have been much need of it.

/9d/

As to my own earnings see points /4c to g/.

My mother made ~~1025~~ 1050 forints monthly. The take home pay was after reductions for taxes, social security and peace loans not more than 850 forints monthly. She did not have any other income.

/9e/

In Budapest: 300 forints rent for an apartment including central heating. In Székesfehérvár: 220 forints monthly for a furnished room.

/9f/

In Budapest I lived in an apartment with my mother that contained two rooms with additional lobby, bath room, W.C., kitchen, pantry and servant's room. We had both plumbing and water supply system.

In Székesfehérvár I rented as a sub-tenant <sup>once</sup> the servant's room of a former bigger apartment that was split in two. After alterations connected therewith my landlady became the tenant of an apartment formed from the kitchen, pantry and servant's room of the former bigger apartment. She used the former pantry as sleeping room. There was gas and water supply in the apartment. The W.C. I had to use was separate from the apartment, opening from a corridor. It was used also by another family. Everybody had a key for it.

/9g/ My mother: practically all of her earnings after paying the rent and for gas and electricity; I about 400 forints monthly in addition to foodstuffs given by my mother at weekends to take with me to Székesfehérvár. Even so I could not eat very well. My mother used to spend one or one and half hour every weekday to buy food and other household necessities. When going out to the market occasionally, she spent there even three hours sometimes.

/9h/ Because of reasons told under point /9c/ money was spent only for socks and smaller body linen, as well as alteration of clothing we got from America. A suit's alteration <sup>cost</sup> amounted to some 200 forints. This was done at irregular intervals depending on parcels arrived.

/9i/ Most things at state stores. Purchasings at markets were rather exceptional.

/9j/ In Budapest some 40 to 50 forints monthly for gas and electricity. Heating expenses were included in the rent. In Székes-

fehérvár use of gas and electricity was with the rent. I used to come home late and to go to bed immediately in the unheated room. Gas could be used fairly poorly at lunch and dinner time in Székesfehérvár, the service was a little bit poorer at noon time also in Budapest. There were no troubles with the electricity.

/91/ I went to the dentist twice a year spending 50 forints at each time.

/9m/ Medical care by SZTK center or <sup>it's</sup> district service. Since about 1951, 15 % of the ~~medicaments~~ <sup>of the medicine</sup> price prescribed was to be paid, and it was the same with therapeutical aids, as glasses, foot supports, etc. Previous to this time all of this was free. As to vacation I refer to point /9c/.

/9n/ During my study time my mother sent me through several years to the tourist hospice at Dobogókő for 2 or 3 weeks recreation. 32 forints were to be paid for food, and 8 forints for shelter per day. The money came by selling things we got in parcels from America. It happened that I bought a slice of cake for myself. Also, I went sometimes to movies paying forints 3.60 or 4.00 for a ticket. Weeks often passed, however, before I went again. I attended concerts fairly frequently, but often without paying for, as I had relatives or acquaintances in the orchestra <sup>who helped me to get in free.</sup> I went to opera or other theaters but seldom. I spent for all this a rather unimportant amount. I borrowed books from public libraries and bought books for myself only ~~in~~



few cases. I did not spend money for cigarettes and drinks. I made the round trip from Székesfehérvár to Budapest almost every week spending some 140 forints for railroad tickets per month.

/10/

No.

/10a/

Definitely.

/10b/

Communist talked much about capitalist exploitation in every year. Yet the direct and indirect methods of exploitation by the dictatorship of the proletariat surpassed every capitalist exploitation. Every strata of the population were sucked dry by peace loans and in many other ways.

/10c/

The Soviet Union and its "Gauliters" in Hungary carrying out the orders. Butter and many other goods were exported from the country for infinitesimal prices. I was told about this by people who toured the Soviet Union. Peasants were exploited by forced deliveries, every <sup>strata</sup> ~~kind~~ of people by state stores that made a 100 % profit.

/10d/

It became worse permanently. If industrial workers reached a new average in the output by working strainously the norms were raised for everybody doing similar work.

/10e/

It simply was a theft.

/10f/

For a time it was justified by the fact that Hungary held out to the bitter end in a very abject war on the side of an infamous power: Hitler, causing losses in peoples' lives and material goods. The lot of the looser is to pay reparations. Yet eventually reparation payments meant systematical and

~~and~~ methodical ransacking and plucking Hungary almost to the degree of emaciation. This was meanness.

/10E/

Yes, both as a high school and a university student, in seminars, <sup>and</sup> at the "half hours" devoted to the reading of the Szabad Nép.

It did not make sense, but I hoped to avoid troubles in this way. It was the same with my mother, at her working place.

/11a, b &amp; c/

Hungary had been an agrarian country. Production of crop, fruits and raising of live-stock was on a high level. Industry was much less developed. Communists urged that Hungary be an industrial country and were mainly for the development of heavy industry. They wished to emphasize that this is the base of the security of every country and that Hungary can become an advanced and really independent country only in this way. This was right to some extent. But carrying it out in a forcible way caused ~~some~~ harm. Careful development of agriculture was abandoned and replaced by ruthless exploitation of the vineyards in the Tokaj area, of live-stock and forests everywhere <sup>in the country</sup> and in many other ways. What is needed is mainly the development of light industry. Putting stress on heavy industry was faulty, and <sup>the way</sup> carrying out such a policy was even wronger.

Development of <sup>the</sup> subway transportation <sup>system</sup> in Budapest was sought for strategic goals and for providing shelters in case of war. Yet, Budapest is a city of mineral springs. Water comes to the surface after 10 meters of digging. Subterranean water

caused heavy damages. There were land-slides and shakings in the downtown section of Rákóczi ut, especially at the Corvin Department Store. Street-cars could proceed but slowly for this reason. Borings from two sides could not find one and another. Additional billion forints were spent to stop the rush up of subterranean water without continuing the work of construction.

Putting together all things the result was exploitation of the people, bad food and nothing of visible results. Things led to economic bankruptcy and complete hopelessness.

/11d/

As far as I learned and can imagine I would tell that it was a very sick, rotten and backward regime both in political and economic sense. I can't tell anything more closely. Nazi influence completely destroyed the country both in an economic and in a moral sense. The real interests of the country could not prevail. Also, the great influence of great land-owners caused considerable harm.

/11e/

Before direct Communist rule there was an upswing, the blood circulation of the country got a start both in trade and transportation. Boom could be hoped ~~should~~ <sup>have been</sup> normal economic measures applied even after nationalizing big plants and making an end of big estates, by giving free way to small scale private initiative.

/11f/

It appeared to be a sound reconstruction program as to the network of railroads, home buildings and factories. The name

and the reference to the Soviets was repulsive but otherwise the slogan: "We are going to reconstruct the country ~~through~~ <sup>according to</sup> the Three Year Plan" covered a good program. The plan was carried out fairly well.

/11g/

The new slogan was: "We are building a new country." The country was ruined.

/11h/

The idea of the Kremlin was to make a test with it for tactical reasons. Should it lead to nothing they were prepared to stop it. Imre Nagy meant it well, but he could not have prevailed without Soviet permission. Forcing heavy industrial development always meant increased terror and screwing tight. Putting emphasis on light industry meant relaxation even concerning education. Untaught students were not ordered to let passed in the school only for the reason of ~~peasant~~ peasant or working class origin. People of bourgeois origin were permitted to continue their studies and found jobs easier. Relaxation came also in press-politics.

All this swung to the one or the other side depending on the emphasis of either the heavy or the light industry. It was the Kremlin that had the word in both cases, there was no national independence.

/11i/

News leaked out that half or one third of the leaders left the discussion room. It can be supposed that this happened partly because of divergence of opinions in economic matters.

/11j/

There was no real deterioration. Confessions were made, admission and revealing of faults and mistakes was to be found

even in papers. But the idea prevailed that no change is possible under the regime. Therefore, the situation seemed to be more desperate, in spite of ~~is~~ a somewhat contrary real situation.

/12a/ It means very much if families, <sup>though being able to care for other daily necessities, have to starve</sup> ~~can eat only but have to starve~~ in case if clothing is needed.

/12b/ Moral and political pressure was felt still heavier. Permanent misleading, exploitation and deception of the people resulted in a spiritually unbearable atmosphere, <sup>of course, however,</sup> ~~although~~ revolutionary minded <sup>people</sup> sought also for a better life in economic sense.

/12c/ Industrial workers were betrayed the most. They were told to be masters of the country. In reality this was not true at all. Peasants felt betrayed, too. The lands they were given immediately after the end of war were taken of them furtively, and they were harassed by state deliveries and by forcing them into collective farms. Intellectuals probably could <sup>analyse</sup> ~~evaluate~~ the wrong situation the most. Youth were robbed of their illusions, and elderly people of their quiet conditions of life.

/12d/ No.

12e/ In passive behavior, sarcastic remarks, ~~in the beginning~~ ~~first~~ camouflaged and whispered, later ever more open criticism. In lack of ambition. <sup>People</sup> ~~They~~ were ready to work only as much as not to be <sup>reprimanded.</sup> ~~scolded~~ as saboteurs.

/12f/ The revolution was started by the intellectuals and the students, industrial workers joined them later either armed or by the

/12f continued/ workers councils representing their political organizations.

~~It was so in Csepel and in other workers' areas.~~

I left Székesfehérvár on November 3rd, 1956. Up to this time there was no street fight in the city. There was no teaching in the school since the revolution started. We worked for keeping the youth together and for maintaining some discipline. Free Europe and Hungarian radio broadcasts were listened to in the common teachers' room. We jumped off if some more important news came. In the classes we <sup>mainly</sup> reviewed the events of the revolution. The pupils revealed sound and honest instincts. They behaved very ~~such~~ mature considering their youth. Their mood expressed complete hatefulness against the Communist rule. They were for the revolutionary ideas with heart and soul. I felt the influence of the parental home in all this. Many of my pupils <sup>were</sup> ~~were~~ armed and formed armed patrols, checking people and controlling the highways. They participated in offering blood plasma. Virtually all of the students loudly expressed their indignation against the ÁVH and Russian interference. There were demonstrations against this almost daily. Both teachers and students took part in it.

- (1) Four years of elementary school and one gymnasium <sup>(high school)</sup> before 1944. <sup>year of</sup> Seven gymnasiums between 1945 and 1951. Between 1951 and 1955 university. Respondent received a diploma to teach in a gymnasium. In 1955-56 he taught in Székesfehérvár and started the second year there last fall.
- (1 c) In 51 respondent started in the Eötvös Loránt University <sup>at Budapest</sup> on its Russian faculty. This Russian institute was separated from the University, becoming the Lenin Institute in 1952. Respondent studied there literature and language ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Russian. However, the Marxist-Leninist emphasis was later increased at the University. The school had four divisions. One of language and literature, with about 90 students; a small translators' school with about 23 students; a larger philosophy section with 100 students; and a section for Marxism-Leninism of about 100 students. These last became in part teachers of Marxism, and in part propagandists in plants and organizations. There was very a easily observed connection between intellectual mediocrity and strong Marxism in the students. Many peasants' and workers' sons worked in the field of Marxism and philosophy.
- (2 d) Respondent had theoretical training ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ two hours a week. This was in field tactics, weapons' use, etc. However, as he proved physically too delicate for military training, he was later excused of all training. Those who participated, usually went for a month of summer camp training. Previous to the

university, there was civil defense training in the secondary schools.

- (4) Yes.
- (5) Respondent was subject to channeling. He originally wanted to go to the Foreign Languages Institute, but this was later absorbed by the Russian Institute, later renamed Lenin Institute. Channeling meant that the needs of the people's economy were paramount over the personal desires and talent or interest were not decisive. Thus most people who wanted to go to the university took what was offered them. Their alternative was to be drafted for ~~two~~ three years in the Army. This always proved a decisive argument. Instead of an interpreter-translator in Russian and French that respondent hoped to become, he became a gymnasium teacher and was trained for this in the Russian Institute. The secondary school directors are subject to filling quotas submitted by the universities.
- (6) In the gymnasium, average. Respondent felt he was weak in the sciences, though good in the humanities. At the university he was outstanding, for he was in his own field more or less.
- (7) Somewhat worse than average, for the father was a lumber broker. The order of preference decisive at the universities was based on social background, political background, and, finally, aptitudes.
- (8) All were compulsory.
- (8 c) It is fine to learn Russian if you are serious about it and if it is your specialty. But it is completely unwise to force engineers, or anyone else with no need for it, to learn the



language. ~~XXIX~~ Also, unfortunately, the propaganda aspects were always emphasized in the study of the language. Since no one learned it who didn't want to, it was wasted time. Some people graduated from the University without even knowing the alphabet. But you couldn't flunk students, because you didn't want to make them unhappy about their Russian. In secondary schools it is basically the same problem. The language is still taught under political pressure, although there is the advantage that the learning of a foreign language always provides useful experience and training. It is strange to note that amidst the Russian teachers in respondent's gymnasium rumors circulated since the summer of '56 that Russian may be abolished as compulsory. It worried those especially who had Russian as their only field of instruction.

(8 d) Constitutional science it is called in the secondary schools. However, this theory and the Communist propaganda permeates all fields. The course was meant to be used to analyze newspaper articles of Communist interest and the Soviet Union. These classes were held frequently by the history teacher or the class's headmaster. History, by the way, was considered as a crucial course. Much of the teaching was permeated with anti-religious propaganda, while ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ pro-religious propaganda was not prohibited. It is interesting to note that the greatest obvious opposition between school and parents was about religion. As one grew higher, one became more critical and one had a chance to begin to see both sides of a question. ~~II~~ As one grew older, one had a better chance

to see both sides of the picture. Lenin was undoubtedly the greater mind and greater genius. He even had some humanism<sup>and</sup> "more than that, he always ~~took~~ <sup>followed</sup> ~~principles~~....., while Stalin was a downright opportunist." Although ~~he~~ misled the people, <sup>and</sup> ~~was~~ couldn't fully ever convince many, except his sycophants.

- (9) It was unsuccessful. It did not accomplish its aim. There was a change, however, as pro-Western interests and likings have decreased. Respondent feels his generation was much more pro-Western in its interests than the following. One should note that all interests are reduced now. The Russians are despised, the West is disregarded. One should note that this among children who were interested enough at least to take an English course above and beyond their regular time schedule.
- (9 b) No.
- (9 c) This was easier, but still, no. It had no importance. I was frequently used with scorn.
- (9 e) The ones educated in communism since their infancy. But even their family influence, etc., leave them ineffectual. Even if ~~we~~ are convinced superficially, they could be converted with a few decisive events, or words.
- (9 f) <sup>that</sup> In/no regime is built on terror. There is no moral power behind ~~it~~.
- (10) Middle class.
- (10 a) Middle class.
- (11) The same.
- (12) He was a lumber representative.

- (12 a) He died.
- (12 b) Does not apply.
- (12 d) He was a lumber expert and he graduated from the gymnasium.
- (12 e) Does not apply.
- (13) Average. (13 a) No change.
- (14) Respondent was only child.
- (15 a) Worked as a stenographer-typist ~~MM~~ since 1945 till last year. She worked for a few month for a lumber association, then for a few months <sup>for</sup> at a lawyer, finally for several years at a lumber company, and last with a brush and broom purchasing company of the government. She was there for three years. She provided for respondent; all throughout his schooling heroically.
- (22) Excellent.
- (23) Talked of everyday necessities. Discussed what the papers wrote, some of the outrages that one heard, but not much politics. Respondent was not fascinated by politics.
- (24) Mother did a heroic job. She completely supported her son to about 90 percent. He also got about 10 percent scholarship at the school. Also the clothing packages from the U.S. saved a lot of money which would have been spent on clothes. ~~MM~~
- (24 a) Mother was more pleased with a teacher son than the son was himself.
- (24 b) She approved wholeheartedly.
- (24 d) No difference.
- ( 25) No reply.
- (26)a) Very.
- (26 b) He believes in good relations and in the love one owes one's parents.

- (26 c) Spent with friends, concerts, read, and played chess. For one year played competitive chess. After respondent became self-supporting, he had more obligations, correcting papers, taking care of laundry, cook for himself. Respondent went home on every week end to Mother. This was a 60-kilometer trip. Most of the time he was tired to step ~~XX~~ out, but at times he went out on Saturday nights with a girl. On Sunday sometimes they cooked, but usually they went out for dinner, which was not too expensive. In the afternoon he visited perhaps his grandmother and then rushed back to school. During the summer he spent much time home. Sometimes he wangled a sanatorium vacation at Parád. This was free. Until that time respondent was sent away at least for two weeks every summer by mother for a vacation. This was usually financed out of the American food or clothes packages. One had no social life and no contacts. Financially, having guents was impossible.
- (26 f) To translate some English, Russian, and German literature into Hungarian.
- (27) Some worked both ways. Some marriages were loosened by the harder life, when both man and wife worked, their interests grew different, apart in their different jobs. At the same time many families were strengthened. They found the family the only escape from the strong outside pressures.
- (27 b) In the own family, and among decent people, one could rely <sup>to</sup>/100 percent. There were among some decent people those who were misguided. There it was not wise to rely completely. Some people even got

divorces on grounds of incompatible political views.

- (27 c) This is difficult to say. Yes.
- (27 d) No.
- (27 e) Yes.
- (28) Yes.
- (28 a) It became much more informal. This is good and bad in some ways. Generally women were more respected before and men used to look up to them. This was romantic and a change was welcome. But lack of all respect, resulting from a twisted equalization of women, was not beneficial. This equalization was partly a Communist bluff, but also, and ~~XXXXX~~ largely, due to the wage income of the woman who frequently earned more than her husband. Girls on the whole want to work and be more independent. Generally it is more frequent to find women who have boy friends.
- (28 b) People marry younger now. This has led to much unhappiness in quick marriages. Marriages were rushed in order to use any economic advantages. Also, they were rushed due to lack of birth control measures available. With the closing of bawdy houses men often had additional sexual problems and due to the suppression of their needs they married quickly to solve their various problems. In recent days, when both were working and the woman tried to keep house on her way to work or coming back, and shop on the way home, the home was desolate and the marriage unhappy. Home was a place to keep in order and yet it was always in disorder. Many men were still unwilling to learn to help their wives. Both were tired and ~~XXXXXX~~ disgusted; and ~~XXXXXX~~ when they went away for work they found people

~~MM~~

who apparently just like themselves, looked a little more relaxed, a little better away from home than their own mates at home. The result was much adulterous affection. Office romances bloomed. Finally, life was so hopeless that sex was one of the few compensations left. It must be admitted that the Communists managed to reduce a number of cases of social diseases.

- (28 c) There were some social changes too in marriage. There was no more dowry, marriages became less formal, there were no church weddings with white-laced wedding gowns.
- (28 d) This was an improvement in many ways. It was good to cut out some of the frills.
- (28 e) Yes. Strong.
- (28 f) Actually they were more relaxed, although in theory they had very high standards. But their whole system became a hotbed of escape mechanisms.
- (28 g) ~~MM~~ Abortions and any medical interventions were strongly fought and severely punished. Doctors received up to seven years in jail. Concerning contraceptives, they appeared, disappeared, and reappeared on the market just as the other political changes developed. When the regime was turning more Stalinist, they disappeared. When it became more liberal, they turned up again. By the way, the entirety of life was controlled by the<sup>se</sup> political changes. The use or teaching of foreign languages was also determined by the degree of liberality of the government. In school also, stupider kids could be flunked in a liberal period, but since they

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were usually peasants' or workers' sons, they had to be passed under growing terror.

- (28 h) Not too many. The situation had somewhat improved.
- (29) The best friend <sup>in</sup> of Hungary, which was a teen-age friend, left the country in 1949. Respondent still corresponds, and considers him a close friend. More recent friendship was struck up with a law student whom respondent met in 1948 on a vacation. He turned out to be a very intellectual associate. E
- (29 b) He is 22 years old and an intellectual.
- (29 c) Conversation, details of social and political developments, news, tidbits, generally making effort to keep in touch with the West, and general intellectual activities.
- (29 d) This relation was not at all typical, for not more than a hundred people perhaps had these interests, certainly not thousands. Compared with this friendship, relations in the faculty and conversations were on an essentially much lower level.
- (29 f) Definitely. He is now in Vienna.
- (29 g) No; any one single thing. It should be reliability in tight situations. He should help to liberate one from illusions. He should also be receptive and appreciative of one's values, thus helping to build one's own personality and confidence.
- (29 h) Yes. One would have fewer meetings, fewer conversations. Less honesty. But no Party member could be a close friend. It is impossible.

- (30) Jewish. No difference in attitudes.
- (30 b) Does not go to ~~JEWISH~~ temple.
- (31 a) Yes. By spiritual terror, ~~anti~~-religious propaganda, and it was wise not to be too religious. This was effective, but soon passive resistance was built up and this resistance was the best recruiter of the churches. People went for political reasons. Some bigotry was actually fortunately disappearing.
- (31 b) Yes.
- (31 c) No problem.
- (31 d) Ideological enemy. Their opposition was fundamental.
- (31 e) They wanted to transform ~~it~~..... exploit religion on their own pattern.
- (31 f) To some extent all were persecuted, not only certain leaders. There was strong pressure.
- (31 g) Yes, but it was not wise. See it above.
- (31 h) Never.
- (31 i) Frequently, especially the older generation.
- (31 j) Not much opinion. By using peace they always had some appeal. They simply expropriated the word by using it first.
- (31 k) The terror brought them on the same level. They had no alternative but to conform.
- (31 l) Less. Rationalism has ~~gained~~<sup>made</sup> quite some gains.
- (32) Same as all other Hungarians. Unfortunately, however, it was true that many of the high and middle cadres and AVO officers were Jewish. When the regime changed in 1945, the people were not anti-Semitic in Hungary. Some Jews then accepted leading



positions under the Soviet influence and many leaders are as a result Jewish. Many <sup>suffered under</sup> fought <sup>and</sup> (3) the Nazis in '45, trying to revenge their harm, and later sold out to the new regime.

- (32 b) They helped in the Revolt. Actually, anti-Semitic feelings ~~was~~ were only seen once by respondent in Székesfehérvár, but at that occasion, too, the group of people present immediately stopped the speaker.
- (32 c) ~~XXXXXXXX~~ There should be no difference in their treatment.
- (34) It is a foolish question, respondent says. He has known a man who repaired office machines and was extremely successful, secure, and had a good income. So that is a position recommended.

/1a/

Politics don't interest me too much. I feel a certain disillusionment and skepticism towards it. I became convinced that people in masses are no more able to change their lot when engaged in politics than any individual, save opportunities not much depending on them. In other words, I think that it is not of practical use for people in the street to participate in politics.

/1b/

Due to my apathy based on considerations indicated above, I ~~do not~~ <sup>did not</sup> consider myself even an outside observer of political developments.

/1c/

My interest ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> practically restricted to observe the international position of the Soviet Union and its projections in daily politics, as well as the ~~internal~~ <sup>domestic</sup> struggles in Soviet Russia.

/1d/

The only exception as to my ~~greater~~ <sup>small</sup> interest was that I participated last year in the Hungarian revolution with heart and soul. Up to November 3rd, when I left for Budapest there were no fights in Székesfehérvár where I worked as a teacher. But I did my best to form the spirit of my students and to join them in demonstrations against the oppressive regime. When, on one of the last days in October, a teacher of mathematics of the "József Attila gimnázium" called ~~me~~ <sup>on</sup> me in my home at about 12,30 A.M. to take an engagement of that matter, I did not hesitate. He wanted me to join him and two freedom fighters, <sup>being</sup> with him in taking a ride to the secret military broad-

casting station: Radio Vörösmarty. I was supposed to read a declaration there in English and German. It was explained by my colleague that I am the only man who could do it, because nobody else was known in Székesfehérvár <sup>being able</sup> to translate and read the text in English and German adequately. We went to the station in a car and there I immediately started to translate the text into English. It was an information sought for the West on the prevailing situation and a declaration that the insurgents are holding on but they need Western help. I could not complete the English translation before news came that the Russians are in advance towards Székesfehérvár. Consequently we had to return without finishing the supposed work. I was at home again before 2 A.M.

/1e/ My mother and friends of my age had few interests for politics, not more than I; fellow-teachers were interested <sup>in it</sup> a little bit more.

/1f/ The conviction about the futility of being engaged in politics developed in me very early after 1946.

/2a/ /i/ I lived in an ivory tower together with my mother and did everything to be <sup>no</sup> insensitive in this respect.

/ii/ Neither my mother nor myself used to attend religious services. Our godliness was built up in our souls where nobody got entrance.

/iii/ We were satisfied with our home in Budapest and did not feel troubled too much for not having monetary means for

/2a continued/ repairs and painting, needed of course. The simple furnished room in Székesfehérvár suited my modest needs, too.

/iv/ My early instinctive repulsion became transformed later to a conscious and decisive antagonism. I felt distaste and suffered in my spirit.

/v/ I did not care for material things too much. My general state of health was not much influenced by ~~misery~~ <sup>difficulties</sup> in food-supply. I was not pleased that I could not eat butter for a longer time, and that much of the food was of poor quality or even not to be obtained at all. But I did not feel such things unbearable.

/vi/ Fear of imprisonment, deportation and of every other kind of police terror directed by the party-apparatus permeated everybody unextinguishably. It was felt as an inexpiable sin against personality. I could not escape it either.

/vii/ It was humiliating and degrading to see red flags outnumbering Hungarian tricolors so much, and to listen to the national anthem of the Soviets together with the Hungarian one even ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> strictly Hungarian celebrations. I was told by acquaintances that it was the <sup>very</sup> Russians who reminded servile Hungarian Communists to put more stress on national consciousness and disapproved of too few Hungarian popular features at cultural programs.

/viii/ Boredom, hopelessness, <sup>just</sup> living from one day to another influenced me deeply. Dark Horthy regime, unbearable present

/2a continued/

and hopeless future forced me to live without real ideals. They were replaced in people by selfish gobbling, introversion and estrangement virtually towards everybody. I suffered for this general attitude and was much warmed up only when the revolution changed this considerably for a few days.

/ix/ Civil rights were simply nonexistent and ~~simply~~ trampled into the dust.

/x & xi/ Such opportunities were considered of minimum importance by the regime. I wanted to be a translator of literary works but had to become a teacher in a high school. It was decided after the second year of my university studies. From some 250 to 300 foreign language students 22 were found eligible to become translators. Of course, the number of students decreased considerably year by year. One of them was expelled from the Lenin Institute for it was found out that he attempted to leave the country in an illegal way. Others interrupted their studies by themselves for various reasons. A fellow-student was expelled in the third year of his university studies because it was discovered that he concealed <sup>that</sup> his father ~~having~~ had been a landowner and proprietor of a <sup>flour</sup> ~~flour~~ mill. His name is [REDACTED]; he lives now in New York. "Comrade" [REDACTED], a playboy in his appearance, once an officer in Horthy's army, and "Comrade" [REDACTED], a gnome, mingled with the students as informers.

once, sneaking behind my back in the class, discovered that I translated a medical article <sup>from</sup> ~~in~~ English. He reported about it but the thing could be glossed over by the help of a /female/ language-master, a Hungarian. Fellow students' photographs were put on the whippings' black board /szégyentábla/ for one week referring to bad progress in studies or to the fact that the student's father was a Fascist.

/2a summarized/ All in all I ~~would feel~~ <sup>felt</sup> things mentioned under points /iv, vi, vii, viii and x/ the hardest and problems covered by the other points more bearable.

/2b/ Problems under points /iv, vi, vii, viii & x/

/2c/ Problems under points /i & ii/.

/2d/ Problems under points /iii and v/.

/2e/ Problems under points /viii, x & xi/.

/2f/ In an infinitesimal number there were honest, ~~and~~ convinced and ~~unselfish~~ well-meaning people among them who hoped real development of the country and real happiness of the people and of their own. They became embittered and disappointed when they found it out that the so-called Stalinism deprives them of their most beautiful ideals. This ~~attitude~~ attitude did not have to wait the time of the 20st Congress, nevertheless, the latter appeared to them as an official approval of their own feelings. During the revolution they fought the Russians and the AVH men led by the conviction that <sup>when</sup> eliminating the faults of Stalinism there is hope to construct a Communist regime to the

benefit of the people. In addition to relatively very few people of this kind, lots of people joined the Communist party only for career goals. For them there was no question of disappointment because they never adopted Communist ideas but only wanted to make use of opportunities.

/2g/

It was disgusting to see the Communist red star on many buildings, Stalin's picture in numerous shop-windows, Bolshevik slogans on posters every day. I never could reconcile <sup>myself</sup> with them. <sup>When</sup> I wanted to borrow a good book from a public library I could not get it, because the pretext was told that the library is being re-arranged or the book is borrowed already. I knew that this was not true. Lectures in the university followed ~~the~~ the artificial Stalinist line, and as a university student I always had to play the role of a friend of the re-<sup>in order</sup>gime, to avoid being expelled if loosing the confidence of the cadre official /káderes/. I always had to count my money in order to find out whether it will reach up to the end of the month. It would have been a foolish idea to plan a travel to Paris or Italy. Vienna was no more available than tropical or arctic regions. It was heartbreaking to see ÁVH men rushing the streets of Budapest by trucks permanently, and to be aware of the fact that incompetent people rule the country by terror. The once famous Hungarian industry deteriorated completely, and there was even a problem to get stationary and the necessary student's exercise books.

/2h/

With close friends to whom I had confidence. Human feelings could not be subdued by the regime. When being together with people once or twice, and hearing one or two innocent remarks of theirs, I could find out <sup>what</sup> ~~out~~ kind of people I am talking to. Of course, I could never know who would break my neck after an apparently friendly encounter. But I had an instinct to whom I can feel real confidence and I never was betrayed ~~by~~ my instinct in matters of importance.

/2i/

No. They were essential features of the regime. It would have meant fighting windmills when trying to fight them. I did my best to make my human contacts beautiful and clean. I never made an attempt, however, to overcome troubles <sup>I mentioned</sup> ~~of greater~~ <sup>above</sup> ~~importance~~. I knew that this would have been futile.

/3e

Never in my life I felt direct sympathy to any party. This was due to my aforementioned attitude on politics /see p.1a/. I never did anything for a party.

/3b/

Never.

/3c/

As a young boy already I reacted rather sensibly and with a fairly open mind towards more important political goals. I agreed with programs to rebuild the country, reconstruct the railroad and organize the food-supply of masses, as well as with the agrarian reform immediately after World War II, irrespective which of the parties supported such programs. I felt that nationalization of big industrial enterprises was all right, but that it <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ ridiculous, stupid and detrimental



to the economic life of the country to suppress even the smallest private trade and industry. Separation of state and churches, and calling for responsibility and punishing the promoters of the old regime's politics for traitorous activities and murders, as well as enlargement of educational system by making schools available for a much greater number of children than before, were things I found right, too.

/3d/

In my early childhood already I was an individualist by instinct and abhorred every sort of conformism. I always has been an idealist and religious minded. All this precluded that I feel any sympathy with Communistic ideas. Goals sounded by the Communist party immediately after World War II were congruent with the real needs of reconstruction. I suspected, however, that they were but slogans and did not make my spirit to reconcile with ever growing Communist influence. My suspectful attitude turned to become a deeply felt hate in the years of accomplished party-dictatorship, terror and virtually unbearable existence. At this time ~~already~~, I felt as a personal enemy against Soviet imperialism and the hangman's assistants: the AVH people moving about the streets at full speed.

/3e/

No. Most people were of another attitude. Many of them just felt a subjective and dull distaste without analysing events in an intellectual way. Especially those having ~~been~~ <sup>had</sup> com-

promised themselves during the previous regime lacked every objective aspect and were led by blind hate exclusively. People at the opposite end of the scale applauded Communist deeds concerning agrarian reform and nationalization of the industry without any criticism. They were not checked in their attitude either by <sup>an</sup> individualistic mind or by belief in God. They changed their minds only because of personal experiences: loss of employment, personal or family troubles with the ÁVH. Eventually they became reactionaries or progressive intellectuals.

/3f/ They did not feel loyal at all but took their personal problems in consideration and put their shoulder to the regime's wheel. Both historical and economic, and psychological reasons contributed to this.

In the beginning the Communist regime mirrored the interests of a considerable part of the population. The partition of the Esterházy estates and other latifundia was applauded, as well as the possibility that university will be available to ~~the~~ peasant boys. An economic nadir was reached for which the discredited and fundamentally wicked previous regime was considered responsible. Every force of impulse could face sympathy. Such forces could be identified with the initial politics of the Communist Party. In 1946, the newly introduced forint currency was a good one in effect. People were ready to work, had good earnings. There was abundance of

/3f continued/

goods and people found their opportunities. Even bourgeois elements helped the regime willi-nilly. They could make money by more or less dubious ventures. The population came to the open air from the bunkers after a devastating war and the fresh spring air surrounded them both literally and figuratively.

Yet, the people were fouled. Thinking persons soon became aware of the fact that the Communist slogans are nothing else than stale and base trickery and clap-trap of an abominable machine. Even guileless people found out this not much later. The wave crest was replaced by a wave-trough.

At this time, however, the machinery of power was well established already. It appeared to be of permanent character. The AVH became an irrefristible authority. The exponents of the regime got a firm foothold in enterprises and schools, and were able to control even family life. People felt being enfeathered and slaves hitched to the wagon of the Soviets. The "loyalty" of masses was nothing else than the attitude of a man put in chains and being aware of the fact that a pistol was clapped to the back of his head. There were but a few people who sided with the regime by Communist conviction. More were base enough to do this lacking any sentiment, just for enjoying some kind of personal privilege. Others could not be condemned for such reasons. They distanced themselves from the regime in their feelings and probably not even did hide this. Nevertheless they were unie in their profession

and were left free to earn as much they liked. They did not think of active resistance.

The psychological attitude was ~~well~~ to be explained well by all this. Nobody wants to be executed by shooting and to be tortured by the ÁVH. People did not want to starve either, and to lose their jobs, especially if they had a family. In general the minimum subsistence was furnished by the regime. Everybody had to live, and this depended on those in power. It did not make sense to venture one's life singularly, but when the revolution gave a collective opportunity, the whole people rose against the hated rulers.

/4/

In the hands of the well organized gangsters of the Kremlin. They had nothing to do with the people of the Soviet Union who did not want to subjugate anybody. The regime was of the same basic character in every country behind the Iron Curtain. In Hungary there was an agency of the Kremlin: the Hungarian Communist Party headed by Mátyás Rákosi. Screws were of the machinery of power: the ÁVH, the army and the police, as well as --most important-- the informers placed in every walk of life. In addition, there were Soviet representatives and advisers, too. Tito did not tolerate that the latter have an influence in Yugoslavia only for the benefit of the Soviet Union. In 1948, he ordered that they be shadowed by his own detectives. ~~The~~ <sup>He, in turn, was</sup> ~~ordered~~ ordered by

the Soviet Union to handle Soviet advisers as friends and not to control their steps in the aforementioned way. Tito refused to change his attitude and the result was rupture in the Soviet friendship. Such a national backbone was non-existent in Communist Hungary. It ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> the only merit of Tito that he was ready to take the risk that Yugoslavia be surrounded by foes.

/5/ The orders of the Kremlin.

/5a/ Practically nothing. Since the time when the red star has been fixed on the top of the building of the Hungarian Parliament, the latter's fate has been sealed. It listened to reports mechanically and adopted resolutions as dictated by frenetic applause in the same way as it was done at Communist Party meetings.

/5b/ There was only one electoral list to be adopted or refused by the so-called voters. It was a fuss not worth of the paper, used just <sup>for</sup> humiliating the people. Should the whole people have voted against the list, the results would have been published in papers <sup>alleging</sup> that some 98 % of the voters were for the list, and the rest <sup>were</sup> partly against it, <sup>and</sup> partly depositing spoiled ballots. Nobody was in the position to check the electoral statistics. The first parliamentary election after the second world war had a sense because it reflected effective voting results. At the second one unschooled people who were guileless enough, or even more tramps were carried by trucks to

vote for the Communist Party in 5 or 6 electoral wards subsequently. When Communists were firmly in power already they did not care even for such tricks but proceeded as mentioned above.

/5c/ People did not have confidence in them. They cared mainly for practical matters of small importance and were characterized by red tape. All of their work was controlled by agents of the Communist Party.

/5d/ It was intricate, no less than that before 1944.

/5e/ It was general knowledge that clerks of nationalized food stores improved their earnings by weighing goods fraudulently, as well as that factory workers very often stole produced articles. Backstairs influence was important in every walk of life. I can give only a specific example of relatively small importance. In July 1956, I was sent by the Székesfehérvár office of SZTK /Szakszervezeti Társadalombiztosítás! Központ = Trades Union Social Insurance Center/ to Parád, a state-owned watering place, for several weeks at reduced rates. I needed it because I was worn down. Nevertheless, should I not have had an acquaintance working with the SZTK local office, I would not have succeeded. She was the mother of one of my pupils. Though the boy made fairly good progress in the school, the mother certainly thought that it is a useful thing to do a favor to one of his teachers rather than to select somebody else from the many applicants.

/5f/

Those in key positions were selected from intellectuals who were ready to sell themselves to the regime, or else from people of manual worker's or peasant's extraction if considered reliable for the regime. In less important jobs civil servants of the Horthy regime were kept and even promoted in several cases, supposed they were not found guilty in their previous activities by a political screening committee formed immediately after World War II.

/5g/

The majority was of worker's or peasant's origine. High ranked officers were ~~adventurers~~<sup>adventurers</sup> of dubious extraction who found it advantageous to join the Communist Party. Some of them were convinced Communists. Officers were well paid when compared with those working in other occupations. Salary depended on the assignment rather than on the officer's rank. Thus it was possible that a lieutenant could make more money than a lieutenant-colonel. Uniform received free from the state and rest-homes organized under favorable <sup>terms and</sup> conditions were attractive for every officer, respectively would-be officers.

/6/

DISZ never was a living organization. It was forced from above modelled after the Soviet Comsomol. Time and again it was advertised that the DISZ organizes recreation opportunities, but youth was hardly interested in them. It was the same with outings organized by the DISZ. It also happened that youth were sent for several weeks work to

Sztálinváros. Wall newspapers written by young people were in the <sup>DISZ</sup> chapters. No specific advantages at all were connected with DISZ membership.

/6a/

Due to the unimportance of the whole organization one cannot speak of disadvantages either. I paid may 50 fillér membership fee for every month and this was all. In the early years after the World War II there were separate organizations for students and young workers. At the time when I was student of high school the two organizations were merged and the previous membership books exchanged for DISZ membership cards.

/6b/

Almost every high-school or university student became a DISZ member. Probably 3 %, or less of them were refused on account of charges against parents <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ the youth himself.

/6c/&amp;d/

The whole thing was no worth of pressure or refusal to join the DISZ. Thus neither was of practical importance. This was reflected both in the behavior of the canvassers and the youth.

/6e/

I don't remember anybody of my acquaintances who was reluctant to join the DISZ.

/6f/

Yes.

/6g/

As a high-school student I was first member of MADISZ, the separate organization of such students. I joined it as practically everybody of my school-mates. <sup>By</sup> ~~At~~ the merger I became DISZ member automatically.



/6h/

As a freshman in the university I was responsible for some months to put articles, caricatures or other drawings on the wall newspaper board. They were in connection with student's life ~~and~~ <sup>or</sup> referred ~~mainly~~ to the progress or failure of achievements of individual students. Exceptionally I write articles by myself. Otherwise I urged my school-mates for contributions by articles and drawings. New ones were needed for every week. It took just a few minutes daily to explain to others: look we have to do it.

/6i &amp; j/

Of none.

/6k/

Both in the high-school and in the university I wrote some articles for the wall-newspaper. I did not spend more than three or four hours for such writings per year. In addition, the system of tanulópárok /two<sup>university</sup> students studying together after classes/ was organized by the DISZ. As a freshman I had a peasant boy as a tanulópár. We studied together one or two hours on the average per day.

/6l &amp; m/

Not applicable.

/6n/

Answered under point /6b/.

/6c/

No.

/6p/

The officials of the DISZ chapters were <sup>proposed</sup> ~~suggested~~ at election meetings without the previous knowledge of the electing members, according to suggestions of the DISZ center or university authorities. Everybody was bored of the many speeches held at such meetings and voting was unanimous by show of ~~hands~~

hands. The elected president took a prepared speech outlining his program from his pocket and read it. That was practically all as to the influence of simple DISZ members on the organization.

/6a/ Every suggestion came from the Communist Party in the last resort.

/7/ There were but a few people who honestly followed their convictions when joining the Communist Party. Most members of the party were careerists who used their party card to push forward and to commit abuses.

/7a/ There was not a formal obligation to join the party. An unwritten law requested that for example every principal of a school, and every army officer in a more sensible assignment, say working with the political department of the Ministry of Defense, as well as the "elite" of the foreign service be a party member.

/7b/ Those mentioned under point /7/.

/7c & d/ In a red covered party booklet possessed by every party member the last five or six pages enumerated both the rights and duties. I read these pages at one or two occasions though with not much interest. A party member possessed the right to vote for the officials of the party and was eligible to party offices. He was permitted to review and criticise party activities "in a constructive way". Of course, this was of no practical importance. Every party member had to watch

over the "purity" and unity of the party and to do everything in the daily life in order to promote the goals of the party. He had to owe allegiance to the party, and to pay membership fees.

/7e/

The youngest sister of my mother and the husband of another sister were members of the Social Democrat Party. Both became members of the Communist Party when the former was merged with the latter. They had an office job with enterprises controlled by ministries. One of my school-mates in the high school adopted the ideology of the Communist Party in his age of 17 or 18 and joined the party. It was by 1950. I don't know about such particular cases.

/7f/

No.

/7g/

/7h, i, j and k/ Not applicable.

/7l/

In case of application I probably would have been admitted. I was of lower middle class origin, a victim of the previous regime, my mother worked with an enterprise controlled by one of the ministries, and I was a fairly good student. My whole cast of mind and behavior, however, would have made such an approach impossible.

/7m/

I could reach only my minimum hope. I was a tolerated intellectual apt to be used. I got scholarships for my studies, but I could not hope for real success in my profession by far.

/7n/

Answered under point /7/.

/70/

No. I often heard party members talking privately in the most "reactionary" way and expressing even hate against the regime. They were no more likely to be informers than non-party members.

/7p/

I refer to my previous statements. /Section "G", point No.4./ The local party secretaries followed the orders of the headquarters. Imre Sebes, the Communist Party secretary of Veszprém County, was detested in the whole county. On October 25, 1956, he held a speech in the open air calling the youth of Székesfehérvár acting in the spirit of Petőfi: fascists. Some days later he disappeared from the city. It was told that he left for the border in his motor car. After a while he forced the chauffeur by pistol-point to leave the car and to return home on foot. He drove the car by himself for the western border and is now in France allegedly, leaving his wife and adopted son in Székesfehérvár. The latter is a Mongolian type and is supposed by many in the population of Székesfehérvár to be the natural child of a Russian soldier staying for a while in the city immediately after World War II. It was known about Imre Sebes that he was the brother of Gusztáv Sebes, sports dictator of Hungary. [REDACTED], the principal of the "József Attila gimnázium", my working place, was a confidential man of Imre Sebes. As Rácz was much more intelligent than the latter he was able to influence the whole public

life of Fejér County through Sebes. His <sup>(Sebes's)</sup> adoptive son was driven in the day nursery by a Mercedes car every day. The headquarters of ~~Fejér County's~~ <sup>the city's</sup> Communist Party is in the most beautiful Baroque building of Székesfehérvár. It has been guarded by a considerable number of ÁVH men permanently. During the revolution, firearms, hand grenades and ammunition were found in the garret of the building.

17a/ It was public knowledge that the appointment, dismissal and even removal by force of high government functionaries depended upon the Communist Party headquarters in Akadémia utca, Budapest. The first president of the after war Hungarian Republic, Zoltán Tildy, was forced by the Party to renounce his office on account of charges ~~was~~ <sup>of</sup> high treason made against [REDACTED], his son in law. [REDACTED] was executed immediately after this, and Tildy has been in house arrest for two years. István Ries, Minister of Justice, was carried away in nightshirt late in the night from his home in the Abbazia-house /a large building at the corner of the Boulevard and Andrassy - later Stalin - Avenue/. Eye witnesses told me this story. Shortly after <sup>this</sup> he died in the hands of the ÁVH, allegedly because he was kicked on his kidney. The day before his arrest he still was active as Minister of Justice. Nobody was in doubt that such and similar activities were carried upon the direct order of the Communist Party bosses.

/7r/

The AVH was the most important organ of the Communist Party. Even the regular police which was in charge fighting non political criminals /murderers, etc./ was under the permanent control of the party.

/7s/

The organization of the army mirrored the growing influence of the Communist Party. <sup>By the time when</sup> ~~When~~ Péter Veres was Minister of Defense, the army was by far not under <sup>complete</sup> Communist Party control, especially not the general staff. The party control was firmly established under the Defense Ministership of Mihály Farkas.

/7t/

Trade unionism in western sense aiming at watching upon conditions of work, working time and wages, and protecting workers' interests against employers by rallying workers, was transformed to become a tool of Communist Party dictatorship using forced means for this purpose. Everybody not having been considered as apt to participate in carrying out this goal had been removed from the trade unions.

/7u/

There was a specific office in charge of the religious problems, named: Vallányügyi - or probably Egyházügyi - Hivatal headed by a government agent, a representative of the Communist Party and the Kremlin. The office controlled church activities. Time and again it was reported in papers that András Hegedüs, Prime Minister of Hungary up to the starting day of the revolution, and other high Communist government officials had talks with Roman Catholic high dignitaries as

Archbishop /József/ Grósz, and Bishop /Lajos/ Shwoy. After such talks small concessions given to the Roman Catholic Church were reported.

/8a/

I was a member of the Trade Union of Pedagogues. As far as I can remember, I joined it in December 1955. In this way I was considered of having a second year's membership in 1956. This was of importance should I have needed vacation, hospitalization benefits, or medical care.

/8b/

I considered the membership as self-insurance for possible cases mentioned above.

/8c/

I would distinguish between mass organizations in which membership became virtually automatic for certain types of people, and others of <sup>rather</sup> ~~effectively~~ optional membership. As to the latter, The Communist Party was of the greatest importance. Membership's importance in the party overshadowed that in every other mass organization, both of "automatic" and "optional" membership. In addition to the Communist Party, the Hungarian-Soviet Society /Magyar-Szovjet Társaság/ and MNDSZ /Magyar Nők Demokratikus Szövetsége = Hungarian Democratic Women's Union/, as well as probably some other few important ones belonged to the "optional" category; the Pioneers' /Uttörő/ organization, <sup>the</sup> DISZ, and the Trade Unions were these of "automatic" membership. By this I mean that all youth in the respective age <sup>joined the</sup> ~~were~~ Pioneers, respectively DISZ ~~members joined these mass~~ organizations with very few ex-

ceptions. By the same token, almost every working man was a trade union member, even small tradespeople and artisans having organizations of virtually trade union character. All this was considered just a logical effect of the fact being a student, respectively a worker.

As to the Hungarian-Soviet Society, its name was in the beginning: Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Society /Magyar-Szovjet Művelődési Társaság Its changed name would express that the Society seeks also for developing technical and scientific contacts with the Soviet Union, in addition to contacts in arts and literature.

/8a,

~~Most~~  
A People were sceptical about each of the mass organizations and spoke about them rather mockingly. Anyway, there were some well-intentioned and rather simple-minded people who ~~were~~ were zealous in the MNDSZ to carry out humanitarian activities and to organize day nurseries and <sup>n</sup>kindergartens. My mother never was MNDSZ member, nor do I remember any of my woman acquaintances of having been. Thus I can't tell specific things about this organization.

The most conspicuous activity of the Hungarian-Soviet Society was to distribute free or inexpensive concert-tickets. Each year, February and March were the months of "Hungarian-Soviet friendship" probably up to April 4th /the day of complete withdrawal of German and Hungarian Nazi troops from Hungary in 1945 under military pressure of the Soviets/. In the



/8d continued/

aforementioned period Soviet actors and musical artists had guest-performances in Hungary at festivals organized by the Hungarian-Soviet Society. At the same time Hungarian actors and artists visited the Soviet Union.

Pioneers were the "quasi automatic" organization of the youth attending primary schools. Very few of them were not Pioneers. The organization was of greater importance than the DISZ. Youth belonging to it did not have experiences in the past that could counterbalance Communist indoctrination in the same extent as ~~for~~ in the case of DISZ members. They were more mouldable by the very fact of their youth. In fact, it seemed that the regime attached greater importance to the Pioneers than to the DISZ organization. A Pioneer <sup>operated</sup> Railway has been ~~maintained~~ in a hilly area of Budapest by young pioneers. It meant amusement, game and some kind of training to them. Also grown up rode on it for small scale excursion. There were well equipped pioneer camps throughout the country. Children passed much time together in summer camps, outings and clubs of pioneers. Travels were organized for them by the organization. <sup>Both</sup> Boys and girls felt that they had a good time and brought home nice memories as Pioneers. Parents, however, were by far not enthusiastic in most of the cases about having their children in the organization. They feared Communist indoctrination and wrong <sup>moral</sup> effects of camping and prolonged amusement <sup>of</sup> boys <sup>staying</sup> together with girls.

Rumors ran that in several cases girls of 12 became pregnant at such occasions.

One of my fellow-students in the Lenin Institute became principal of the primary school at Sütthó, in the 1955-1956 school-year. I was related by him that pioneer meetings used to be held there on Sundays at the same time when the Mass was celebrated in the church, thus seeking to distract youth from the religious service. Of course, he told me that at least as many boys and girls went to church as to the pioneer meetings. Accordingly, the attempt was only partly successful.

/8e/ In 1955, I became a provisional member of the Trade Union of Pedagogues. This was to be so with every new member. After one year's membership I should have got a permanent membership card. I left Hungary before I could be registered as a permanent member.

/8f/ 95 percent or more of teachers in primary and secondary schools were members of the Trade Union of Pedagogues.

/8g/ Answered under points 8a and 8b.

/8h/ Membership fees were to be paid. It amounted to a relatively large part of my salary. I can't give exact numbers any more. Trade union meetings were to be attended. Benefits connected with the membership were medical care and a vacation facilities, and the like. Rights and duties were enumerated in detail in the membership card. Not even did I read it. I was present at very few meetings, no one of them left lasting memo-

ries in me.

/8i/

In contrast to class societies it promoted the interests and politics of the supreme employer, the state, rather than protecting the interests of workers against the state and the employers. Benefits to be obtained by toilers through the trade unions were hardly more than an eye-wash.

/8j/

Trade union members as such had no specific contacts with each other.

/8k/

Everybody wanted that not he but another be elected trade union official. Eventually somebody had to accept nomination against his own real will. [REDACTED], 44 or 45, was a teacher of mathematics in the "József Attila gimnázium" at Székesfehérvár. He became a trade union leader representing educationalists in several schools of the city. Being a sociable ~~and~~ man and a jolly good fellow he remained so also in his trade union activities. [REDACTED], 28 or 29, another mathematics teacher of the school, was in charge to sell the stamps acknowledging payment of the trade union membership fees. He was a religious minded Roman Catholic, by far not a Communist, popular with his colleagues.

/8l/

I don't know. It would not have made much sense in the Trade Union of Pedagogues.

/8m/

Not, as far as I know.

/8n/

No importance was attached to trade union activities.

/8o &amp; p/

Trade unions were bloodless so far that they not even were considered worthy of being disapproved. As to the MENDSZ and the Pioneers I refer to my statements under point /8d/. The activities of the Hungarian-Soviet Society were also considered harmless and of few importance. About DISZ: see point /6/ of this section.

/9/

The DISZ was not a Communist stronghold at all. An abortive organization was forced upon the Hungarian youth ~~XXXXXXXX~~ <sup>who were</sup> fair-minded and thinking honestly. It was a hypothetical organization that collapsed in consequence of the first gentle breeze. It could not be compared with the Russian COMSOMOL which could be more effective due to several decades' Bolshevik rule. DISZ members still had much contacts in their memories with western ideas. It was rather the Pioneer organization that could be compared with the COMSOMOL. This was for the youth that became conscious of human problems under Communist rule already. Material benefits and indoctrination they got through the Pioneer organization had a not ~~un~~important influence on them. Nevertheless, even the pioneers turned practically unanimously against the regime during the revolution. Not so much their intellect played the main role in it, <sup>This</sup> ~~as~~ it was the case with the DISZ members. Students of primary schools being pioneers ~~at the same time~~ felt rather instinctively that the revolutionary movement is a good thing emphasising national freedom of Hungary, the

ideas of Petöfi and the spirit of his famous poem: Nemzeti Dal /National Song/. They enjoyed revolutionary romanticism, the rifles carried by them being greater than they were, the mass and adventure connected with the revolt.

/10/

To put the whole thing in an adequate perspective I have to go back to the origins of the after-war political police. Of course, the Russian "liberators" did everything for the Communist rule in Hungary as early as in 1945. Nevertheless, irrespective of this, even the real democratic regime sought for by the other after-war parties <sup>pre-posed</sup> ~~was~~ new social and political bases of the country by destroying the remainders of the Horthy regime. Every government needs a machinery of power, and part of it was seen in a political police. It became organized, and hunted in the beginning the former arrow-cross men, and those in general who were considered to have been gravediggers of the nation and responsible for large scale political and racial murders. Szálasi and his companions as well as other exposed politicians of the last war years were returned from the West by American military airplanes. The new political police and courts treated their cases in lengthy trials and the courts decided upon heavy punishments. All this could be found acceptable as liquidation of the past.

After a time, however, a State Security Department was formed

/10 continued/

as part of the political police. The next step was to reorganize this department as an independent unit named: Allamvédelmi Hatóság /ÁVH = State Security Authority/. It may have been in 1950 or 1951, at about the time when Mátyás Rákosi made the statement that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in Hungary already. At this time not hunting of arrow-cross men and related matters were aimed <sup>at</sup> by the reorganized political police <sup>au</sup>thority any more. According to the recipe that the revolution eats up its own children, Social Democrats were the first ~~new~~ sufferers and victims of the new order; people from the rank of Communists followed them in turn: László Rajk, Sándor Szalai, János Kádár and others. The ÁVH became a tool of power and machinery of terror in order to carry out Stalinism in Hungary mainly by the direction and control of Mátyás Rákosi.

In the early times of the new political police already many young Jewish people, though not in a decisive majority, joined the organization. They recently <sup>had</sup> returned from deportation and the memory of tortures and the extirpation of their family members was fresh in them. They were filled by thirst for revenge, an understandable though not approvable sentiment. Other elements from every strata of the society joined them. Policemen and especially those in the secret police service fared well in many countries according to the history. Well-fed henchmen /rendőrkapók/ were ever recurring

/10 continued/

figures in the world-literature. Many adventurers attracted by easy life, intriguing and fairly exciting possible activities found their ways to the organization. Sticking to principles was of no importance while appointing them. Partial sympathizers with the <sup>former</sup> arrow-cross regime, former members of the Hungarian gendarmerie, various dubious elements were taken into the service as well. It was an early statement of Mátyás Rákosi that: "We are ready <sup>to</sup> forgive petty arrow-cross people!"

From the very outset there were even well-intentioned people who joined the political police in the hope of helping to develop a better regime. When they found out how far they were mistaken, it was too late. They found themselves in the reorganized State Security Authority /ÁVH/ and they could find their way out from it only through the cellars of the ÁVH.

Sadists of sexual perversity were glad to join the ÁVH. They could maltreat and torture people without giving an account of it. An outstanding specimen of them was [redacted], ~~in~~ a man of superb appearance <sup>a</sup> in the age of 37 or 38, illegitimate son of [redacted], top Communist. János Kádár was almost beaten to death, his teeth kicked out and his nails <sup>headquarters</sup> ~~teared~~ out in the ÁVH by the time of the Rajk trial. [redacted] took main responsibility for this. Also, he

/10 continued/

urinated in the mouth of János Kádár. These things about Kádár leaked out to the general public in June and July 1956 at the time when the rehabilitation period of Rajk and companions started. Rákosi was ordered to rehabilitate Kádár, too. At a meeting of the Communist Party Central Board, Kádár vehemently attacked Rákosi for causing his torture and related his story with the ÁVH. There were friends of the 20 members central board among intellectuals who got direct information and this spread indirectly throughout Budapest and the whole country to others. Also, torturing of Pál Justus by the ÁVH leaked out in this way. Irodalmi Ujság, though not in detail, pointed to the tortures of Kádár and others, too. As to other things told above about the political police and the ÁVH, much could be known by the general public as many people had friends and acquaintances who had direct experience with the organization. ~~The picture I draw above was generally accepted by them.~~ During the revolution ÁVH payrolls fell in the hands of the revolutionaries. I was told by friends that data found in them directed people to ÁVH men for being liquidated, and that some of them were hanged putting the payroll of immense salaries in their mouth and plenty 100 forints bills below <sup>that were</sup> trees used for executing them. There was a much more intense hate against ÁVH people during the revolt than against Russians. This was a natural and justified reaction against



terrible  
brutalities committed by them through years.

The ÁVH possessed recreation homes throughout the whole country. Their windows were curtained carefully to prevent a look in by the public. One of them I could observe in the summer of 1955 while staying in a tourist hospice in the Dobogókő. The ÁVH recreation home was close to it, surrounded by guards. Having a very ~~strong~~ <sup>strong</sup> toothache I could not help to ~~look~~ <sup>ask</sup> for a doctor in the ÁVH home. Of course, I was not permitted to look around. Still, I could see the luxurious parlor, one or two rooms and the swimming pool. Nearby there was a pigfarm for the exclusive use of the ÁVH.

/10a/

Every strata of the society were interwoven by the network of informers. Nobody could know when he confronts one. Part of them were people who fell in the hands of the ÁVH because of past or present objectionable activities. They were explained that they could be jailed and tortured, but they will be left free under the condition that they will give accounts time by time on other people.

/11/

~~I remember only~~ An acquaintance <sup>of mine</sup> ~~she~~ was jailed for about 7 months in the Markó utca late in 1952 or early in 1953 for anti-communist and Zionist charges in connection with the Kremlin's doctors' trial.

As to myself, I never was imprisoned. I don't know any specific details about the <sup>treatment of the</sup> jailed person I mentioned.